A SHORT HISTORY OF PAKISTAN

Book Two

Muslim Rule Under The Sultans

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General Editor

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This book is respectfully dedicated to Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan, N.Pk., H.J., President of Pakistan, as a token of gratitude for his continuous and inspiring interest in the history of this country and its correct interpretation and projection.

GENERAL EDITOR'S NOTE

This small book is intended to serve the purpose of a text-book at the undergraduate level. It will be found to be of interest to the general reader as well.

The question may be raised: Is it possible to write the history of Pakistan at all? Can it be disentangled sufficiently from the history of India to stand by itself? The answer is that for certain periods the history of Pakistan can be narrated almost independently and for other periods the areas constituting Pakistan were drawn into the whirlpool of regional history so strongly that what happened here had only a local significance and this also could not be fully understood without reference to greater happenings involving larger areas. Sometimes the dominant role in our history was played by events outside the subcontinent, especially in Central Asia and the Iranian plateau.

So far as India is concerned, its events have not always been the dominant factor in our history. For long periods we have been the arbiters of India's historical destiny. This fact needs recognization. And if it is recognized, no eyebrows will be raised on the title of this book, even though sometimes the most significant drama may have been played outside our boundaries. Sometimes movements have taken birth or received their inspiration in Pakistan, though they worked themselves out in India as well. Numerous examples could be given of this phenomenon. When the novelty of some of the ideas put forward in this book wears off, there will be less reluctance to accept its approach to history in placing the emphasis on Pakistan and Pakistanis.

It is true that Pakistan is new, but the land and its people are not new. They have existed, by whatever names they might have been known before the present country of Pakistan came into existence. This land and these people have a history which sometimes flows by itself and sometimes it commingles its waters with other streams. This stream, however, was not lost and when it

again found a new channel, it may have lost its pristine characteristics but it could assert its own new found entity as a resurrection, not a new birth.

And finally a word about editing which in certain instances has been so drastic that the authors should be absolved of a good deal of responsibility for opinion and conclusions.

I. H. QURESHI

CHAPTER I

The Sources

Historical Literature

The absence of historical literature before the advent of Islam in this subcontinent shows that the Hindus had scant regard for history which marks "so vividly the divergence between the mental attitude of the Hindus and Muslims" and "the diversity of their different cultures". The Muslims have always attached the greatest value to history. For instance, Iqbal thus emphasizes the value and importance of history:

"The record of the past illuminates
The conscience of a people; memory
Of past achievements makes it Self-aware;
But if that memory fades and is forgot;
The folk again is lost in nothingness".

It is only with the coming of Muslims in this subcontinent that we find abundant historical literature pertaining to the life of the people, their political and social institutions, their culture and religion, the economic structure of society and the military and political history of the past. Professor Dodwell commented

thus on Muslim historiography: "The advent of Islam brings a great series of Indian chronicles . . . The Muslim chronicles are far superior to our own (English) medieval chronicles. They were written for the most part not by monks but by men of affairs, often by contemporaries who had seen and taken part in the events they recount . . . The Muslim period is one of vivid living men whereas the Hindu period is one of shadows".

By the time that the Turks established their empire in this subcontinent, Persian language had supplanted Arabic as the literary medium of Perso-Turkish culture. Amongst other literary forms a new "impetus was given to Persian historical composition" in all countries where the Turks established their rule. Muslim historians in the subcontinent followed, therefore, well established Muslim traditions of historiography which soon, under local stimuli, developed a distinctive cultural form both in composition and content. They produced such divergent works as Zia-ud-din Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Amir Khusraw's *Khaza'in-ul-Futuh* and Khwajah' Abd-u'l-Malik' Isami's *Futuh-u's-Salatin.* Besides the histories of particular rulers or dynasties we have a large number of regional histories, biographies, numerous collections of private and official letters, revenue and administrative manuals, gazetteers and biographical dictionaries of leading men of different epochs.

Foreign travellers' accounts, literary works, *malfuzat* or recorded table talk of leading sufis, inscriptions and coins supplement our knowledge of this period.

The number of historical works written during the period of Muslim rule is so large that it is impossible to describe even the most important of them in detail. A few only are described here to give the reader an idea of the comprehensiveness of this literature and the high regard which Muslim historians had for truth and accuracy in recording historical events. The study and writing of history was encouraged by the governments and its high officials, and there appears to have been a good market for history books amongst the elite of the time.

Sind

1. For the history of Sind the best known work is the *Chach-*

namah (also known as *Minhaj-ul-Mamalik* or *Fathnamah*) by 'Ali bin Hamid bin Abu Bakr al-Kufi. The work is a Persian translation of an Arabic history written by a descendant of the Arab conquerors. It deals with Sind under the Hindu ruler Chach and his successors. The conquest of the area by the Arabs under Muhammad bin Qasim is described in detail for which this book is our principal authority.

2. Mir Muhammad Ma'sum (d. 1606) came of a distinguished family of Bhakkar and served with distinction under the Mughuls. Amongst other works he wrote the *Tarikh-i-Sind* also known as *Tarikh-i-Ma'sumi* which covers the history of Sind from the Muslim conquest to the end of the sixteenth century.

3. Mir 'Ali Sher Qani' of Thatta completed in 1774 a history in three volumes, of which the third volume entitled *Tuhfat-ul-Kiram* is exclusively devoted to Sind and forms a very important source of the history of this period.

The Ghaznawids

There is a large number of histories relating to the Ghaznawids. Besides, much useful information may be obtained from literary works written during this period as Sultan Mahmud and his successors were enlightened and generous patrons of men of letters. The two most important works relating to this period are the following:

1. Abu Nasr Muhammad bin 'Abdul Jabbar al-'Utbi, who had served under Mahmud of Ghazni and his son Mas'ud, wrote in Arabic a history known as *Tarikh-i-Yamini* which comes down to the year 1020-1021. The book is deficient in details and defective in dates but it is the only important contemporary work and as such is a valuable source of information for this period. Several Persian translations of this book appeared later.

2. Abu Sa'id 'Abdul Hayy al-Gardezi's *Zain-ul-Akhbar* was dedicated to Zain-ul-Millat Abu Mansur' Abdur Rashid (1049-52), son of Sultan Mahmud. It covers, with greater precision in dates, the entire period of Sultan Mahmud's reign.

3. Abul Fazl Muhammad bin al-Husain al-Baihaqi served the Ghaznawid rulers for many years. He wrote in 1059 the *Tarikh-i-al-i-Subuktigin* commonly known as *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi*

in more than thirty volumes. Of these only the second half of the Vol. VI, Vols. VII-IX and part of Vol. X have come down to us. Most of these volumes cover the reign of Mas'ud and the history is consequently known as *Tarikh-i-Mas'udi.* Baihaqi gives "a vivid description of the court life, the intrigues of officials and rivalry of persons who sought to influence the sovereign one way or the other.

The Early Turkish Sultans of Delhi

1. Taj-ud-din Hasan bin Nizami came to Delhi from Nishapur and wrote *Taj-ul-Ma'asir* a history of the campaigns of Mu'izz-ud-din, Qutb-ud-din and Iltutmish from 1191 to 1217.

2. Minhaj-ud-din Abu 'Umar bin Siraj-ud-din al-Juzjani migrated from the court of the Ghuri Sultan of Firuz Kuh and sought service under Nasir-ud-din Qubachah of Sind. After the death of his patron he entered the service of Iltutmish and later served under his successors as a qazi. He wrote a general history, the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* in 23 *tabaqat* or parts and completed it in 1260. Minhaj's account of the Shansabaniyah dynasty covers the Indian conquests of Mu'izz-ud-din, his officers and the early Sultans of Delhi down to the time of Sultan Nasir-ud-din. It is a most valuable source of information for this period, as the author was an eye witness of many of the events described. His association with the rulers and the leading men of the time enabled him to gather correct information.

From 1260 to 1265, from which date later Zia-ud-din Barani took up the story of the Sultans of Delhi, there is no eye witness account and one has to depend on later historical and literary works.

The Khalajis

1. *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* of Zia-ud-din Barani: Zia-ud-din Barani is justly regarded as the greatest Muslim historian before the time of the Mughuls. He was born in or about the year 1285. He belonged to a distinguished family, members of which appear to have occupied posts of distinction under the Sultans of Delhi. His father was posted at Baran (modern Bulandshahr), where Zia-ud-din Barani probably spent the early years of his life

before the family shifted to Delhi during the reign of Jalal-ud-din Firuz Khalaji. We have no information about Barani's activities during the Khalaji period. He appears to have attracted the attention of Muhammad bin Tughluq, probably in 1334, who appointed him a *nadim*. He continued to hold that position for seventeen years and three months. During his stay in Delhi he was a frequent visitor to the *khanqah* of his murshid Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya. There he also cultivated the friendship of the two famous poets—Hazrat Amir Khusraw and Amir Hasan Sijzi. Barani appears to have incurred the displeasure of Firuz Shah. He is buried near the tomb of his spiritual preceptor Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya. Besides the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, his other important work is *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* which is a book on statecraft.

The *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* is a history of the Sultans of Delhi from Balban to the sixth year (1356) of Firuz Shah's reign.

2. Amir Khusraw of Delhi was born in 1253 at Patiali in the Etah district of Uttar Pradesh (Bharat). His father, Amir Saif-ud-din Mahmud had been in the service of Iltutmish. His maternal uncle 'Imad-ul-Mulk, a distinguished officer under Balban was mainly responsible for his education. He started writing verses at the early age of eight. He attached himself to several nobles of the time one after the other and was with Prince Muhammad, the eldest son of Balban, when that Prince was defeated and killed in a battle against the Mongols in 1287. For some time after that he was with Hatim Khan, the governor of Awadh returning to Delhi in the time of Kaiqubad. He was appointed *mushaf bardar* ('keeper of the Quran') to Jalal-ud-din Firuz Khalaji and remained attached to the court under his successors. Khusraw accompanied Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq to Bengal in 1324. He died in 1325 a few months after the death of Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya. He was buried near the latter's tomb.

Khusraw was not a professional historian but throughout his life he had been closely associated with monarchs, princes, officers of state, 'ulama and sufis. A man of observation and versatile genius, he has left us a large number of poetical works. His historical *masnawis* and his account in prose of 'Ala-ud-din Khalaji's campaigns together with numerous letters are a

valuable source of information for the political, social, administrative, economic and religious history of this period.

Khusraw was extremely careful in recording facts, dates and geographical data. His works give us a vivid picture of the social life of his period.

His main *masnawis* are :

1. *Qiran-us-Sa'dain*, an account of Kaiqubad's meeting with his father in 1289;

2. *Miftah-ul-Futuh*, which records the victories of Jalal-ud-din Firuz Shah;

3. *Diwalrani Khizr Khan or 'Ashiqah*, which relates the story of the romance between Diwalrani and the prince;

4. *Nuh Sipihr*, which describes Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah's victories in the South; and

5. *Tughluqnamah*, which relates the history of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq's rise to power.

The prose works are:

1. *Khaza'in-ul-Futuh* or *Tarikh-i-'Ala'i*, giving a history of the military campaigns and main events of the first sixteen years of 'Ala-ud-din Khalaji's reign; and

2. *I'jaz-i-Khusrawi* or *Rasail-i-I'jaz*, a compendium of letters which throws a flood of light on the social and administrative institutions of the period.

The House of Tughluq

1. Shams-ud-din 'Afif bin Siraj-ud-din's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* covers the entire reign of Firuz Shah and was completed sometimes after 1398. It has come down to us in an incomplete form. Written in a lucid and simple style it is complimentary to Firuz, though it is not difficult to read in between the lines 'Afif's awareness of the evil effects of the lenient and vacillating policies of his patron. It gives us an intimate and revealing account of the working of the administration and social and economic conditions of the people.

2. The *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* of Zia-ud-din Barani (already described) takes us to the first six years of Firuz Shah's reign.

3. Another important contemporary work is *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi* by an anonymous writer written probably at the instance

of Firuz Shah. The book is a panegyric on the achievements of Firuz Shah, a detailed account of his buildings and public works as well as public and beneficent institutions like hospitals. It also contains valuable information regarding the campaigns of Firuz Shah in Bengal.

4. Firuz Shah compiled a brief account of his edicts and ordinances entitled *Futuhat-i-Firuz Shahi* which was inscribed on a *minar* of the mosque at Firuzabad in Delhi. These deal with his beneficent measures relating to the social and spiritual welfare of his people.

5. Khwajah ʻAbdul Malik ʻIsami wrote in 1349-50 a versified history of the Muslim rulers of the subcontinent from Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni to the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq. ʻIsami's grandfather was one of those notables of Delhi who were forced by Muhammad bin Tughluq to go to the Deccan. His grandfather died on the way and ʻIsami went to the South to the court of ʻAla-ud-din Hasan, the first Bahmani sultan. There he wrote his *Futuh-us-Salatin* and dedicated it to his patron. ʻIsami is naturally bitter against Muhammad bin Tughluq.

6. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* is a history of the Sultans of Delhi from Muiʻzzz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sam to Mubarak Shah, the Saiyid ruler of Delhi. It is our principal authority for the period of the decline of the Delhi Sultanate.

Travellers

During the fourteenth century, because of the amelioration of the conditions created by the Mongols in the beginning of the thirteenth century in the Islamic lands in the West of the subcontinent, a large number of Arab travellers visited the Sultanate. They have left accounts of their travels and their observations about the life of the people, the nature and form of government and economic conditions which form a valuable adjunct to other accounts of this period.

The most important of these travellers is Abu ʻAbdullah Muhammad bin ʻAbdullah commonly known as Ibn Battutah. Born in Tangiers in 1304, he left his home after having completed his education in 1325, and returned home 28 years later having visited many countries in Africa, Asia, and Europe. By the time

he reached home he had lost all his notes and had to write his account from memory. The *Rahla* was compiled in abridged form in 1356 by Ibn Jauzi and has been translated into many European and Oriental languages.

After visiting several countries in Africa, Europe and Asia, Ibn Battutah reached Sind in 1333. When he reached Delhi he received a generous grant of villages for his maintenance from Muhammad bin Tughluq who appointed him qazi of Delhi. He remained in the service of the Sultan for eight years. In 1342 he was sent as the head of an ambassadorial delegation to China. He went to Calicut, visited the Maldiv islands and Ceylon, stayed for sometime in Madura and finally started on his voyage to China *via* Java and Sumatra. On his return from China he again came to Calicut and then returned home in 1354. He died at the age of 73 in 1377.

2. Al-Qalqashandi's *Subh-ul-a'sha* and Shihab-u'd-din al-'Umari's *Masalik-ul-Absar* are two other Arab accounts of India and Pakistan. None of these writers came to the subcontinent but they have drawn on the accounts of Arab visitors to India during the time of Muhammad bin Tughluq. The accounts, so carefully and laboriously collected, give valuable information about the social, economic and political conditions in the fourteenth century.

Lodi and Sur Dynasties

1. *Tuhfah-i-Akbar Shahi* or *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* written by 'Abbas Khan Sherwani by order of Akbar soon after 1579.

2. *Tarikh-i-Da'udi* by 'Abdullah written in the time of Jahangir gives the history of the Afghans from the time of Buhlul Lodi to Da'ud, the last Afghan ruler of Bengal who was defeated by Akbar.

3. *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afaghinah* by Ahmad Yadgar brings the history of the Afghans down to the death of Himu in 1556.

4. *Tarikh-i-Khan Jahan Lodi* or *Makhzan-i-Afghani* of Ni'mat-ul-lah is a general history of the Afghans and was written in the time of Jahangir.

CHAPTER II

Arabs In Sind

The Rise of Islam

Arabia had long remained an unnoticed desert land inhabited chiefly by nomadic tribes often at war with one another. The people of Arabia were steeped in vices like gambling, drinking, plundering, female infanticide and usury. They worshipped idols, hundreds of which filled the Ka'bah, the most ancient place of worship of the Arabs. Towards the end of the sixth century there arose among them a Prophet who completely changed and reshaped their life by the miracle of his teachings. This was Muhammad (peace of Allah be on him), the Prophet of Islam, who was born at Mecca in 571 A.C. in the famous tribe of Quraish. A posthumous child of his father, he lost his mother in early boyhood and was looked after first by his grandfather and later by his uncle. These early misfortunes did not deter him from blissful meditation and search of the truth. He used to spend much of his time in devotion in a cave called Hira, near Mecca, where at the age of forty (610) he received revelation. Three years later, under Divine direction, he proclaimed himself as the Messenger of God to warn his people against their evil ways. The revelation which he continu-

ed to receive throughout the remaining years of his life is embodied in the Quran which is the sacred book of his followers. He preached the idea of one Almighty and Merciful God—Allah. He reminded the people of God's infinite mercy to human beings, and exhorted them to show their gratitude to Him by praying five times a day. All believers formed one brotherhood. The recognition of this principle of equality entailed one supreme duty of compulsory charity by the well-to-do for the benefit of the poor and the needy. This took the form of *zakat*. In his teachings the Prophet denounced extreme materialism and condemned hoarding and niggardliness. The religion he preached was called Islam, which means resignation to the will of Allah, and his followers came to be known as Muslims.

The ideas of uncompromising monotheism and equality of mankind were disliked by the leaders of the Quraish, whose vested interests and false sense of pride made them furious against the new religion. The Prophet and his followers were subjected to sarcasm, ridicule and then to persecution, and the Prophet, after considerable suffering, migrated to a city known as Yasrib which now came to be known as *Madinat-un-Nabi* or the City of the Prophet (622). He spent the remaining years of his life at Medina, always engaged in his great mission. He was not left alone even here and the Meccans attacked Medina several times. The Prophet had to defend the small community of Muslims. In organizing them he laid the foundations of a state. He united the whole of Arabia under the banner of Islam and established peace by abolishing tribal feuds. Under the four successors of the Prophet—the Caliphs Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Usman and 'Ali—the Arabs came into conflict with the Byzantine and the Sassanid Empires, which had disliked the rise of a new power, and conquered the territories of Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Iraq and Persia within twenty years of the death of the Prophet. Under the Umayyad Caliphs (661-750) the boundaries of the Arab state were extended further. It was during the reign of al-Walid (705-715) that Central Asia, North Africa and Spain were added to Muslim dominions. Sind was also conquered during his reign.

Arabs in Sind

The Muslim conquest of Persia including the provinces of

Kirman and Makran brought the Arabs face to face with the then ruler of Sind who had made common cause with the ruler of Makran against the Muslims. But it was not until the seaborne trade of the Arabs in the Indian Ocean was jeopardised that serious attempts were made to subjugate Sind.

Trade relations between Arabia and the subcontinent of Pakistan and India date back to antiquity. The Arabs had settlements on the coast of southern India which then provided the link between the Arab ports and the ports of South and South-east Asia. These commercial activities were intensified after the Arabs had been converted to Islam and succeeded in founding an empire. Some Arab merchants had died in Ceylon and the king of Ceylon sent to Hajjaj, the Umayyad viceroy of the eastern provinces, the orphan daughters of the merchants and many valuable presents for the Caliph and the viceroy in eight vessels which were plundered by pirates off the coast of Sind. These pirates had constantly disturbed the even flow of commerce between the Arab ports and the Arab commercial establishments of South India and Ceylon. Hajjaj demanded from Dahir, the ruler of Sind, adequate compensation, to which Dahir replied that he had no control over the pirates and was, therefore, powerless to chastise them. On this Hajjaj decided to invade Sind. Two smaller expeditions having failed, he sent his son-in-law 'Imad-ud-din Muhammad bin Qasim, a youth of seventeen, to invade Sind with 6000 picked Syrian and Iraqi soldiers, a camel corps of equal strength and a baggage train of 3000 camels. His siege engines included a *manjaniq* (balista) worked by 500 men, and called the Bride (*'Arus*). Proceeding through Makran, Muhammad bin Qasim appeared before Daibul in 712.

There was a large temple at Daibul on the top of which flew a red flag. Muhammad bin Qasim was told that the inhabitants believed that Daibul would not fall as long as the flag flew. He, therefore, ordered that the *manjaniq* should aim at the flag. It was soon brought down and the defenders lost courage. Daibul was conquered. Muhammad bin Qasim then turned to Nirun, a city near modern Haiderabad. A Buddhist monk who was left in charge of the city surrendered. Muhammad bin Qasim then crossed the Indus. Dahir decided to oppose the Arabs at Raor. A fierce

struggle ensued in the course of which Dahir was overpowered and killed. Raor fell into the hands of the Muslims. The women of the royal household, according to a Hindu custom, burnt themselves to death. The next city to surrender to the Muslims was Brahmanabad.

Muhammad bin Qasim then occupied Alor. He then proceeded towards Multan, the chief city of upper Indus. On the way a fortress called Sikka (Uchh) situated on the bank of the Ravi was occupied. Multan offered resistance for two months after which the Hindus were overpowered and defeated. The people of Multan, merchants, traders and artisans, together with the Jats and Meds who had suffered at the hands of native rulers, waited upon Muhammad bin Qasim to do him homage. In conformity with Muslim practice he guaranteed to the conquered people the security of life and property and freedom of worship. "The temples," he said, "shall be inviolate like the churches of the Christians, the synods of the Jews and the altars of the Magians". This means that the people of Sind were treated as *zimmis*, a protected people. The Brahmins and Buddhist priests were treated well and were entrusted with responsible administrative offices particularly in the revenue department. To the revenue officers Muhammad bin Qasim issued the following instructions: "Be honest in determining the shares of the people and the government and if the share of the state is to be taken out, do it with equity and fix the revenue according to the people's ability to pay. Be in concord among yourselves and oppose not each other so that the country may not be distressed." He then sent one of his generals to Qanauj but before anything could be achieved he was recalled by the Caliph because of party politics at the capital and put in prison on his return. Later he died in the prison. His premature end called a halt to the further progress of Muslim arms in the subcontinent.

Effect of the Conquest of Sind

The establishment of Muslim rule in this area is a significant event in the history of Islam and of the subcontinent. Islam gained its first foothold. The Arab soldiers settled down in this country and some of them married into local families. Military cantonments were founded which later grew into flourishing cities

and became centres of learning and culture. The Muslim empire in Sind continued to exist until the decline of the Umayyads. This conquest opened the way for new cultural contacts between the Hindus and the Muslims. The most important acquisition by the Arabs was that of the decimal numerals which, when transmitted to Europe, came to be known as Arab numerals. The Arabs learnt chess from the Hindus. Influence of Sind on Arab music has also been traced. It was three quarters of a century later during the golden rule of the Abbasid Caliph Harun-ur-Rashid in Baghdad (786-809) that this cultural influence made itself felt more strongly. Indian books on astronomy, such as *Siddhanta* (called by the Arabs a's-Sind-Hind) were translated into Arabic as were books on Ayurvedic medicine. The book of fables called *Kalilah wa Dimnah* by the Arabs had its origin in Indian sources. The influence of Sind was, however, much weaker than that of Greece.

The establishment of Muslim rule in Sind prepared the way for future propagation of Islam in Sind and the adjoining regions. Muhammad bin Qasim did not exercise any pressure upon the population to accept Islam and extended to them all facilities to which the *zimmis* are entitled in a Muslim state. Their places of worship were left unmolested and they were permitted to retain the administration of their personal law, religious institutions and control over local and communal affairs. The Buddhists who formed a large proportion of the population had been persecuted by their Hindu rulers. Therefore they sometimes sided with the Arabs. The people were so impressed with the justice and leniency of the Muslims that when Muhammad bin Qasim and later the pious Umayyad Caliph 'Umar bin 'Abdul 'Aziz invited the people to accept Islam, the response was good. Sind and Multan attracted Arab travellers, writers and missionaries. They spread their activities into the Panjab, Baluchistan and the tribes of the mountains in the north-west. Later Sind attracted Isma'ili missionaries who were so successful that Sind passed under Isma'ili rule. With the conquest of Multan and Lahore by Mahmud of Ghazni, Sunni missionary activity began again under the aegis of sufis who were the main agents in the Islamisation of the entire region of West Pakistan.

The Arab conquest of Sind and Multan also led to intensi-

fication of Arab trade with the coastal regions of South and South-east Asia. Some Arabs had settled in Malabar and Ceylon even before the Muslim conquest of Sind. The Arab sea-route during the eighth and ninth centuries followed the line of the coast of Bengal and Arab merchants visited the port of Samundar on the coast of Bengal. They also frequented Sandwip and Ruhmi (the country lying between the sea and Assam). There is also a tradition to the effect that some Arab merchants being ship-wrecked near the coast of Arakan settled in some villages there. Some Arab merchants, according to another tradition, settled in Chittagong in the early years of the tenth century.

A SHORT READING LIST

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2. I. H. Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent,* The Hague, 1962; Chapters I & II.
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CHAPTER III

Mahmud of Ghazni and the rule of the Yamini Dynasty in Ghazni and Lahore

The Arab conquest of Sind, as discussed above, belongs to the first phase of Islamic expansion under the Umayyad Caliphs. It was after nearly three centuries that the second phase of the conquest of the subcontinent began under the Turks who, after their conversion to Islam, became the spearhead of further Islamic expansion towards India and Pakistan. The Turkish rulers of Ghazni and later those of Ghur carried Muslim arms across Pakistan and into northern India and brought these areas under their control.

Subuktigin

Subuktigin, the founder of the kingdom of Ghazni, was a former slave of the Samanids who had become virtually independent in Central Asia (874-999) and had established a great political and cultural centre of Islam at Bukhara. Alptigin, a Turkish slave of the Samanid ruler 'Abd-ul-Malik, was appointed governor of Khurasan. He was deprived of this office on the death

of his patron. Alptigin then moved on to Ghazni and established himself as practically an independent ruler there (962). After the death of Alptigin he was succeeded by his trusted slave and son-in-law Subuktigin (20 April 977). An ambitious and enterprising ruler, Subuktigin at once proceeded to extend the boundaries of his kingdom by annexing Khurasan, Sistan and Lamghan (Jalalabad). At that time the north-western part of Pakistan from Lamghan to Sarhind was ruled by the Hindu Shahi dynasty, with its capital at Waihind near modern Attock. In 979, alarmed at the rising power of Subuktigin, the Hindu Shahi Raja Jaipal took the offensive. In a battle fought between Lamghan and Ghazni, Jaipal was defeated and had to buy peace by agreeing to pay tribute. But once back in his own territory Jaipal not only defaulted but also organised in or about 991 a confederacy of his fellow princes to fight the Muslims. He fared no better in his new venture. He was defeated and had to pay heavy tribute besides surrendering the territory between Lamghan and Peshawar. These conquests of Subuktigin opened the way to the future Muslim conquest of the subcontinent. He was a wise and sagacious ruler, brave and virtuous.

Sultan Mahmud Ghaznawi (979-1030)

Subuktigin was succeeded by his illustrious son Mahmud. The rise of Mahmud as the brightest luminary on the political firmament of the eastern Muslim world has a special significance in the history of Islam.

In 998 he conquered Khurasan from the Samanid ruler 'Abdul Malik ibn Nuh. From the battlefield at Marw he wrote a submissive letter to the Abbasid Caliph al-Qadir billah expressing allegiance to him and offering to him his services. The Caliph thereupon conferred upon him the titles of Yamin-ud-daulah and Amin-u'l-millah. Having consolidated his position in Ghazni and Khurasan, Mahmud turned to the Hindu Shahi dynasty which still nursed ill will towards the Ghaznawids.

Jaipal mustered a vast army consisting of twelve thousand horsemen, thirty thousand foot and three hundred elephants. In a hotly contested battle in the vicinity of Peshawar in 1001 Jaipal was defeated and taken captive but was released on promise

of payment of a heavy ransom. Repeated defeats had compromised the position of Jaipal with his subjects and followers, and being despised by them he performed self-immolation. He was succeeded by his son Anandpal. As he did not pay tribute, Mahmud attacked Bhatiya (Bhira), on the left bank of the Jhelum, which was annexed (1004). On his return journey from Bhatiya, Mahmud was harassed by Abul Fath Da'ud, the Isma'ili ruler of Multan, and the Sultan returned in 1005 from Ghazni to punish Da'ud, whose ally Anandpal obstructed Mahmud's passage. Mahmud defeated Anandpal and advancing upon Multan inflicted a crushing defeat on Da'ud who paid heavy indemnity and promised to abjure the Isma'ili belief.

It was about this time that Mahmud received the news that the ruler of Kashgar had invaded his territory. He entrusted the newly acquired territories of the Hindu Shahis to one Sukhpal, a grandson of Jaipal, who had become a Muslim. He was appointed governor of Waihind but as soon as Mahmud returned to Ghazni, Sukhpal apostatised and renounced allegiance to Ghazni. It was obvious that the Hindu Shahis could not be reconciled or trusted. Mahmud therefore marched (1008-9) against Anandpal, who was fully prepared for this. The Hindu rajas of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kalinjar, Qanauj, Delhi and Ajmer had responded to the call of Anandpal to fight the Turks. Great religious fervour pervaded even among the rank and file of the Hindu masses. Women sold their ornaments to provide arms to the soldiers. A fiercely contested battle was fought at some place between Peshawar and Waihind. At last Anandpal's elephant took fright and fled from the battle-field. The panic stricken army dispersed in utter confusion to be pursued relentlessly by the Muslim soldiers who put many of them to the sword. The defeat of such a strong Hindu confederacy greatly boosted Muslim morale. Mahmud thus succeeded in eliminating the Hindu Shahi dynasty and annexing its kingdom. However, the neighbouring Hindu rulers who had made common cause with the Hindu Shahis could not be expected to remain quiet. Mahmud, therefore, decided to weaken them and, if possible, to reduce them to the status of tributaries.

The fort of Kangra or Nagarkot was the next target of his attack. Situated on the top of a hill, Nagarkot was considered impreg-

nable. It, however, offered no resistance and fell into the hands of Mahmud who returned to Ghazni laden with enormous booty consisting of "jewels and unbored pearls and rubies, shining like sparks or like wine congealed with ice, and emeralds like fresh springs of myrtle and diamonds in size and weight like pomegranates."

In 1014 an expedition was undertaken against Thanesar. The fortress was captured. Qanauj, the traditional imperial city of the Hindus, enjoyed great prestige and Mahmud decided to attack it. Starting from Ghazni in December 1019, Mahmud occupied a number of forts and defeated the Hindus at Bulandshahr, Mathura and Brindaban, and immense booty fell into his hands. Then he proceeded to Qanauj which was a city of seven forts and ten thousand temples. The raja, Rajapala, submitted without any resistance. The booty acquired by Mahmud amounted to 3,000,000 dirhams, 55,000 slaves and 350 elephants.

The next expedition of Mahmud was directed against Ganda, the Chandela raja of Kalinjar, who organised a big confederacy against Mahmud. The Raja, despairing of success, fled from the camp at night leaving the entire baggage into the hands of Mahmud (1019). A second expedition against Kalinjar (1021-22) made the Raja conclude a treaty of peace with him.

The most famous of Mahmud's invasions was the one against Somnath. This famous fortified Hindu temple was situated on the sea-shore in Kathiawar. It contained fabulous wealth. For the maintenance of the temple some 10,000 villages were endowed. A thousand Brahmins were employed in the worship of the idol installed in this temple and 500 girls sung and danced at the door. The Hindus believed that the Moon-god (Somnath) was so powerful that he would destroy the Turks. Mahmud invested the fortress in 1025 but the Rajput princes who had gathered from all parts of the country repulsed the besiegers. Finding his position almost untenable Mahmud implored the help of God in his fight against the enemy. This gave new courage to his followers who resolved to fight and die for him. The Hindus were defeated and Mahmud entered the temple which was a lofty structure supported by 56 pillars. Immense booty in the form of diamonds, rubies and pearls fell into the hands of the Muslims.

The idol was broken by Mahmud. The conquest of Somnath was followed by a punitive invasion of Anhilwara, whose ruler had taken part in the defence of the temple of Somnath. Mahmud returned to Ghazni by way of Sind in the spring of 1026.

The Somnath expedition raised the fame and status of Mahmud to an unusual height in the Islamic world. It also stunned the Hindu world and completely destroyed its morale.

Mahmud's last invasion was directed against the Jats of Sind who had harassed him during the return journey from Somnath in 1026. The last years of his life from 1026 to 1030 were occupied with the affairs of Ghazni and Central Asia. Mahmud died in Ghazni on 30 April 1030.

Mahmud's Achievements

He was master of the fair cities of Transoxiana, Samarqand and Bukhara and the lands as far as the Caspian and the Arabian seas. Though he had triumphantly led his armies across Pakistan into northern India and captured and plundered the holiest of the holy temples, Somnath, he annexed only the Panjab because his main aim had been the destruction of the hereditary foe, the Hindu Shahis. It was also a realistic approach to the political situation rather than lack of foresight which made him avoid further involvement in India. His empire was already too extensive to be defended against invasion and insurrection.

Mahmud's achievements as a conqueror and empire-builder were remarkable. Throughout his long military career he never met with a defeat, because "he never attempted the impossible". His numerous successful campaigns in the subcontinent often in places far off from the capital city of Ghazni, his long journeys through inhospitable and sometimes even hostile regions and his uniform career of brilliant conquests bear ample testimony to his greatness as one of the leading military figures of the world. A life-long military career of thirty-three years resulted in the establishment of a vast empire, but, like all such empires depending on the personal qualities of a single warrior-statesman, his empire was essentially weak and disintegrated within a few years of his death.

Patronage of Learning

Mahmud's permanent place in history, however, rests on his enlightened patronage of art and learning. By his munificence he attracted from all parts of Asia a large number of renowned poets and scholars to his court at Ghazni which in splendour and magnificence far surpassed any other court during his time. He found time in the midst of heavy pre-occupations to listen to a song or a *qasidah* or hold discussions with the learned. The historians 'Utbi and Baihaqi, the philosopher al-Farabi and poets 'Unsuri, 'Asjadi and Farrukhi adorned his court. But the greatest of all of them who not only immortalised himself but also his patron Mahmud, was the illustrious Firdausi, author of the world famous *Shahnamah.* Mahmud established a university, a library and a museum at Ghazni. He adorned his capital with magnificent new buildings which made Ghazni one of the most attractive cities of the East. He used to make charitable contributions for the benefit of the needy, the indigent and the pious. His administration was also efficient and benevolent. His empire enjoyed peace and tranquillity and caravans could pass freely between Khurasan and Lahore. He exercised effective control over all of his provincial governors. He administered even-handed justice to all and never allowed any discrimination in favour of any relation or influential person. His campaigns against the Hindus never turned him into a fanatic or intolerant ruler. Mahmud employed Hindu officers and soldiers and there were Hindu scholars at his court. He deserves to be ranked among the greatest monarchs of the world. Nizam-ul-Mulk summed up the character of Mahmud as "a just sovereign, a lover of learning, a man of generous nature and of pure faith". The north-western part of Pakistan came under Muslim rule for the first time during his reign and Lahore developed into a great Muslim cultural centre.

Abu Raihan Al-Biruni

A discussion on Mahmud remains incomplete without a brief account of Abu Raihan al-Biruni, who was a mathematician, philosopher, astronomer and a great Sanskrit scholar. Born in Khwarizm (modern Khiva) in 973 al-Biruni spent the earlier part of his life under the patronage of Khwarizm Shah, stayed for

a time at the court of Qabus in Tabaristan where he dedicated his monumental work, the Chronology of the Ancient Nations, to that prince and then he was taken to Ghazni by Mahmud about 1017. He spent several years in the subcontinent and died probably in 1048. A versatile genius, al-Biruni remains the best specimen of Muslim scholarship. Apart from the book mentioned above, he wrote the bilingual *Tafhim* on Astronomy; *Qanun-ul-Mas'udi*, also on Astronomy, dedicated to Mas'ud, son of Mahmud; and the most famous work on India entitled *Kitab-ul-Hind* about which its translator Sachau remarks: "If in our days a man began studying Sanskrit and Hindu learning with all the help afforded by modern literature and science, many a year would pass before he should be able to do justice to the antiquity of India to such an extent and with such a degree of accuracy as al-Biruni has done in his *Indica*". His penetrating analysis of the political, social and religious conditions of the Hindus is free from the bias and prejudice of an alien studying a foreign culture and evinces a keen perception, a breadth of vision and an abiding sympathy so rare in Medieval times.

The leading kingdoms of the time mentioned by al-Biruni were Kashmir, Sind, Malwa, and Qanauj. They were often at war among themselves. Society was caste-ridden. The Brahmins enjoyed many privileges. The evils of early marriage and child widowhood were also mentioned by him. Although the commonality among the Hindus worshipped a multitude of gods, the enlightened believed God to be "One and Eternal, without beginning and end, acting by free will, almighty, all-wise, living, giving life, ruling, persevering". Image worship was universal and there were numerous rich and gorgeous temples all over the subcontinent. Although highly appreciative of the ancient Hindu learning such as philosophy, mathematics, and astrology, al-Biruni was nevertheless unsparing in his criticism of Hindu narrow-mindedness.

"We can only say", writes al-Biruni, "folly is an illness for which there is no medicine, and the Hindus believe that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no kings like theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs. They are haughty, foolishly vain, self-conceited and stolid. They are by nature niggardly in communicating that which they know and they take the greatest

possible care to withhold it from men of another caste among their own people, still much more, of course, from any foreigner." Al-Biruni compares the equality and brotherhood of the Muslim society with the inequality of the Hindu caste system and deprecates the filthy customs of the Hindus in contrast to decency and cleanliness of the Muslims.

Panjab and Peshawar Regions under the Ghaznawids

The history of the Ghaznawid dynasty after the death of Sultan Mahmud loses much of its vigour. Both at Ghazni and Lahore the Ghaznawid rulers passed through vicissitudes which increasingly reduced them to positions of insignificance. Mas'ud, son of Mahmud, took keen interest in the affairs of West Pakistan by appointing a new governor at Lahore and issuing elaborate instructions to him and finally himself undertaking an expedition to conquer the fortress of Hansi. His absence from Ghazni not only cost the Ghaznawids the western and the northern parts of their empire including Nishapur which fell into the hands of the Seljuqs, but it also cost Mas'ud his throne. During the reign of Mahmud, son of Mas'ud, Mahipal, the raja of Delhi made a desperate attempt to oust the Ghaznawids from the Panjab without success. During the long reign of Sultan Ibrahim (1059-1099) not only was the Ghaznawid hold over the Panjab strengthened but successful expeditions were also led against Banares, Thanesar and Qanauj. In 1079 Ibrahim captured Ajodhan, the present Pak-Patan of Shaikh Farid Shakarganj. It was during the reign of Bahram (1118-1152) that the Afghan valley became the scene of a tripartite struggle for supremacy. To the already existing antagonism between the Ghaznawids and the Seljuks, the rise to power of the Shansabaniya princes in Ghur, the hilly area between Herat and Kabul, added fresh complications. In a confused struggle between the Ghaznawids and the Ghuris, 'Ala-ud-din Husain who later come to be known as Jahansuz, inflicted a terrible punishment on Ghazni by setting fire to the city and reducing it to ashes. The ruined city to which the Ghaznawids returned again fell into the hands of the Ghuzz Turks and the Ghaznawid Khusrau Shah fell back upon the Panjab, which was

now the only part of their once vast empire which owed allegiance to the Ghaznawids.

The Ghaznawid rule over the Peshawar region, the Panjab and Multan, roughly corresponding to what now constitutes West Pakistan, lasted for about two hundred years. Throughout this period the Ghaznawid rule over the Panjab and Peshawar was firm. The military, strategic, political and cultural significance of this long period of rule has often been lost sight of. It was during this period that Muslim culture in the northern areas of West Pakistan took roots. After the fall of Ghazni many poets, writers and philosophers, displaced from their homes settled in Lahore, which remained the capital of this area till the time of Iltutmish. Persian became the language of culture of the Muslim elite. Lahore played the role of a miniature Ghazni. The two eminent persons associated with the Ghaznawid Lahore are the poet Mas'ud Sa'd Salman who wrote in Arabic, Persian and Hindi and the famous 'Ali Hujweri known as Data Ganj Bakhsh, the author of *Kashf-ul-Mahjub*, one of the earliest works on sufism.

A SHORT READING LIST

1. S. M. Ikram, *History of Muslim Civilisation in India and Pakistan*, Lahore, 1961.
2. M. Nazim, *Mahmud of Ghazna*, Cambridge, 1931.

CHAPTER IV

The Ghuri Conquests

Rise of the Ghuris

In spite of occasional raids by the later Ghaznawids beyond the frontiers of the Panjab, the Hindu political scene which now came to be dominated by the Rajputs remained practically undisturbed for a century and a half after the death of Mahmud. Islam had so far dominated only West Pakistan. The credit for implanting Islam in the heartland of the Hindus goes to the rulers of the petty principality of Ghur, situated between Herat and Kabul. The ruling family of Ghur known as Shansabaniyah, came into prominence during the reign of Bahram of Ghazni. The latter unwisely and perfidiously murdered Qutb-ud-din Hasan, a Ghuri prince who had taken refuge at his court and to whom he had given one of his daughters in marriage. This cruel murder aroused a feeling of resentment in Ghur and Saif-ud-din, a brother of the deceased prince, attacked Ghazni and expelled Bahram from there. On re-entering Ghazni, Bahram captured Saif-ud-din and had him executed. The consequences were disastrous. 'Ala-ud-din Husain, another brother of Qutb-ud-din took Ghazni by storm and wreaked such terrible vengeance

that it never recovered from it. The magnificent city of Mahmud with its fine buildings and monuments was totally burnt down and fire kept on burning for seven days. The population was massacred indiscriminately, even the dead bodies of the sultans, with the exception of those of Mahmud, Mas'ud and Ibrahim, were not spared. Their tombs were dug open, and bodies exhumed and burnt. This earned 'Ala-ud-din the unenviable title of *Jahansuz* (the World Burner). Later the city was again occupied by the Ghaznawids.

Khusrau Shah, the son and successor of Bahram, fell back upon Lahore when the Ghuzz Turks occupied Ghazni. He was succeeded at Lahore by Khusrau Malik who "abandoned himself wholly to pleasure while the servants of state and governors of the country exercised independent power". 'Ala-ud-din Jahansuz died in 1163 and was succeeded by his nephew Ghiyas-ud-din Muhammad bin Sam in the principality of Ghur. Ghiyas-ud-din fought against the Ghuzz and captured Ghazni in 1173-4. He then entrusted the city to his brother Shihab-ud-din better known as Muhammad Ghuri, confining himself to ruling his native principality of Ghur from its fortress-capital of Firuz Kuh.

Muhammad Ghuri

Muhammad Ghuri was destined to play a most significant role in expanding Muslim rule in northern India. His vigorous and systematic campaigns for the first time roused the Rajput confederacy into concerted action and a real trial of strength ensued resulting in the triumph of Muslim arms. He made Ghazni the base of his operations and entered upon a series of campaigns first to establish himself in the Panjab and then to push forward to the fertile valley of the Ganges.

The Subcontinent on the eve of Ghuri conquests

Khusrau Malik held sway over Lahore and Peshawar, while Multan and Uchh were held by the Isma'lis who had re-established themselves there after the death of Mahmud. Lower Sind was held by the Sumra dynasty. Of the powerful Rajput princes who held sway over northern India the most important were

the Gahadwals of Qanauj, the Chauhans of Delhi and Ajmer, the Chalukyas (Baghelas) of Gujarat and the Chandelas of Bundelkhand.

Coming from Ghazni; not through the well-known Khaiber Pass but throught the Gomal, which led to Dera Ismail Khan and thence to Sind Sagar Doab, Muhammad Ghuri occupied both Uchh and Multan in a single operation in 1175. He proceeded next against Anhilwara, the capital of Gujarat, in 1178. His army was exhausted after a long march through the desert and was repulsed by the ruler.

So far he had left the Ghaznawids alone. He now realised that the reduction of Ghaznawid Panjab was a pre-requisite for the conquest of North India. He, therefore, turned to the Panjab, and occupied Peshawar in 1179. Then he proceeded against Khusrau Malik who submitted.

In 1182 he advanced towards Sind and captured Daibul and the adjoining areas. Two years later he occupied Sialkot. His last expedition in the Panjab was directed against Lahore in 1186. Khusrau Malik who had shown hostility against the Ghurids, was defeated and taken captive. Thus ended the Ghaznawid rule in West Pakistan. The acquisition of Lahore opened the way for the conquest of northern India.

First and Second Battles of Taraori (1191-92)

After having secured possession of the Panjab, Muhammad Ghuri could now look forward to dealing with the Rajput chiefs. He first captured Bhatinda, a town on the Panjab frontier, which the Chauhans had taken from the Ghaznawids. But this was challenged by Prithviraj, the ruler of Delhi-Ajmer, who advanced with a vast army consisting of 200,000 horse and 3,000 elephants. Many Rajput princes had joined him.

The Sultan divided the army into three sections: right, left and centre. He himself led the attack from the centre. In the thick of the battle the Sultan came face to face against Govind Rai, the Raja's brother and commander-in-chief, and hit him with a spear knocking out two of his teeth. Govind Rai hit the Sultan with a javelin. The Sultan began to bleed profusely and might have fallen down from his horse when a young Khalaji

soldier guided his horse off to safety. The army dispersed in panic but soon gathered round their leader at Lahore and returned to Ghazni. Prithviraj then invested Bhatinda but it was not until the siege had continued for 13 months that the fortress surrendered.

The Sultan made adequate preparations for a second campaign and returned next year with a well-equipped army of one hundred and twenty thousand horse and encamped near Taraori (1192). Prithviraj called upon the Rajput princes to rally round him and one hundred and twenty of them responded with their military contingents. Prithviraj's army this time numbered three hundred thousand. The Sultan divided his army into five divisions, four of which attacked the enemy from all sides while the fifth, which was kept in reserve, made a desperate charge carrying death into the Hindu camp. Govind Rai was killed on the battle-field and Prithviraj was captured while trying to escape, and later put to death.

Following the victory at Taraori, Muhammad Ghuri occupied Hansi, Kuhram, Sarswati and Samana. Ajmer was given to a son of Prithviraj as a tributary and Delhi was allowed to be ruled by Govind Rai's successor. The Sultan then left his faithful officer Qutb-ud-din Aibek in charge of the newly acquired territories and himself returned to Ghazni. Aibek shortly after conquered Mirath, Koil (modern Aligarh) and Delhi, the last of which he made his headquarters.

Reduction of Qanauj

The Chauhan power was shattered but further lay Qanauj ruled by the Gahadwal King, Jayachandra. He had earlier held aloof from the struggle hoping to rule Hindustan as its undisputed master after Prithviraj's defeat. But his hopes were soon belied and in 1194 Sultan Muhammad marched from Ghazni to deal with him with an army of 50,000 horsemen. The two armies met in the vicinity of Chandwara and Jayachandra was defeated and killed. The Sultan returned to Ghazni laden with enormous booty including three hundred elephants.

Qutb-ud-din Aibek had to deal again with Ajmer from where Prithviraj's son was ousted by his uncle. Aibek, therefore,

proceeded to Ajmer and this time (1195) appointed a Muslim governor. Aibek next turned his attention to chastise Bhimdev II ruler of Gujarat who had helped the rebels in Ajmer. The raja was killed but Anhilwara being too far was not annexed. Then in a series of campaigns Aibek occupied Bada'un, Banaras (1197-8), Qanauj, Sirohi (1198-9), Malwa (1199), Gwalior (1200), Kalinjar (1202), Mahoba and Kalpi.

Muhammad Ghuri's death

While Muhammad had been making his conquests in the subcontinent his brother Ghiyas-ud-din had been resisting the pressure from Khwarizmshahs. The death of Ghiyas-ud-din in 1202 left the Khwarizmshahs unopposed. Muhammad therefore, invaded Khwarizm at the head of a large army in 1204 But the Khwarizmshah, 'Ala-ud-din, received assistance from the Qara-Khitai Turks, and the army of Ghur was completely defeated and shattered at Andkhud. It was even widely rumoured that Muhammad Ghuri had been killed in the battle. The news of the disastrous defeat encouraged rebellions in the Ghuri empire. The Khokhars grew turbulent in the Panjab, and the remittance of revenue from Lahore to Ghazni stopped. Muhammad Ghuri himself came to deal with the situation. Pressed hard by the Sultan's forces from the west and Aibek's forces from the east, the Khokhars were crushed. On his way from Lahore to Ghazni the Sultan halted at Damik in the Jhelum district. There, while engaged in his evening prayers, he was assassinated by an Isma'ili fanatic. Within a very short period both Ghazni and Ghur passed under the rule of Khwarizmshahs. The title of Shihab-ud-din was bestowed upon Muhammad by his brother, Ghiyas-ud-din Muhammad after whose death he assumed the title of Mu'izz-ud-din. He is, therefore, known in history as Mu'izz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sam.

Conquest of Bengal

While Qutb-ud-din had been busy consolidating and extending the Ghuri conquests in northern India a Khalaji adventurer Ikhtiyar-ud-din Muhammad bin Bakhtyar by name, unaided

by any royal support, carried the victorious banners of Islam to the easternmost parts of the subcontinent.

After some difficulty he obtained the *iqta's* of Bhagwat and Bhuili under Malik Husam-ud-din, the governor of Awadh. He soon succeeded in attracting around him a large number of Khalaji adventurers with whose help he carried on successful raids into the neighbouring territory. This earned him fame and wealth, and Qutb-ud-din Aibek conferred upon him a special robe of honour in recognition of his services. In or about 1199 Muhammad bin Bakhtyar made a sudden dash against "the fortress of Bihar" and occupied it. It was in fact a Buddhist monastery (Vihara) called Udantapura Vihara and thus the whole country came to be called Bihar by the Muslims.

In the following year Muhammad bin Bakhtyar started on his second adventure and, proceeding through the unfrequented Jharkhand region, marched so swiftly towards Nadia that only eighteen horsemen could keep pace with him. He was mistaken for a horsedealer and passed through the gates of Lakhmansena's palace unopposed. He attacked the royal guards. The king who had just sat down at his mid-day meal heard the uproar and "fled away by the back-door" bare footed. Meanwhile, the main army of Bakhtyar arrived on the scene and the Muslim victory was complete. Bakhtyar then proceeded northward and established his headquarters at Lakhnauti (Lakshmanavati) near Gaur (ancient Ganda) in Maldah.

But Muhammad bin Bakhtyar's inordinate ambition impelled him to undertake the most hazardous campaign of his life. In 1206 he started on his ill-fated Tibet expedition. Having made adequate arrangements for the defence of Bihar and Bengal he marched from Devkot (in Dinajpur) with ten thousand horsemen up the river Bhagmati "three times as broad as the Ganges". Then crossing the river over an ancient bridge he proceeded to the hills where, in a battle with the local people, he sustained such heavy losses that he decided to return. But the return journey proved to be most disastrous and all but one hundred soldiers of the large army returned with him to Devkot. Overwhelmed by the loss to Muslim lives, Muhammad bin Bakhtyar was taken ill and was stabbed to death in that condition by one of his lieutenants

'Ali Mardan Khalaji in 1206. Thus ended the heroic of Muhammad bin Bakhtyar who, because of his remarkable conquests, is one of the heroes of Muslim History in the subcontinent.

Estimate of Muhammad Ghuri

The conquests of Mu'izz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sam of Ghur and his lieutenants established Muslim rule in North India and Bengal. Muslim rule thus spread in lands east of Pakistan. Muhammad Ghuri took full advantage of the rotten political structure of Hindu India and dealt it a stunning blow. He was determined to bring the northern areas of the subcontinent under his direct sway and never accepted a defeat as final. Historians bestow lavish praise on the Sultan for his munificence and patronage of learning in which he took interest despite his military pre-occupations. Among the men of learning who flourished at his court and paid rich tributes to Muhammad Ghuri, may be mentioned the illustrious Muslim philosopher Fakhr-ud-din Razi and the celebrated poet Nizami 'Aruzi. Another praiseworthy trait in the Sultan's character was his deep attachment and personal loyalty to his elder brother Ghiyas-ud-din Muhammad. He never for a moment harboured any intention of assuming independence while his brother was alive. A great warrior and general, his title to greatness and fame lay not merely in the numerous victories that he won on the battlefield but also in training up hundreds of his Turkish slaves in the art of warfare and administration. It was on account of this that although the Sultan died without a male issue, his possessions in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent were maintained by these trained warriors. According to Minhaj-us-Siraj, when a courtier once regretted that the Sultan had no male issue, he replied: "Other monarchs may have one son, or two sons: I have so many thousand sons, namely, my Turki slaves, who will be the heirs of my dominions, and who, after me, will take care to preserve my name in the *khutbah* throughout those territories."

On the death of Muhammad Ghuri, Qutb-ud-din Aibek was elected Sultan by the Turkish amirs. He thus became the first sultan of the newly established Sultanate of Delhi.

(*For reading list see end of Chapter V*)

CHAPTER V

Early Turkish Sultans of Delhi

Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibek (1206-10)

As Sultan Muhammad Ghuri had left no son, his empire was divided among his Turkish slaves. His nephew Ghiyasuddin Mahmud succeeded him at Ghur. One of his slaves Taj-ud-din Ildiz held Ghazni, another slave Nasir-ud-din Qubachah was holding Uchh, while Qutb-ud-din Aibek was in Lahore. He was elected Sultan by the amirs.

Originally a scion of a Turkish family of Central Asia, Aibek was sold as a slave to the chief qazi of Nishapur in whose care he received his early education and training as a soldier. After the death of the qazi he was sold by his sons to a merchant, who sold him again to Sultan Muhammad Ghuri at Ghazni. By sheer dint of merit he soon rose to the position of *amir-i-akhur* (controller of royal stables and establishments of breeding horses). As in those days cavalry was of supreme importance, this was a key post. He served the Sultan with distinction in his campaigns in Central Asia and India. Once in a battle against Khwarizmshah, he was captured but later, on the defeat of the

enemy, he was released. After the second Battle of Taraori (1192) he was entrusted with the government of Samana and Kuhram. Later he captured Delhi and made it the seat of his government from where he led successful expeditions into various parts of India. When Sultan Muhammad Ghuri died (15 March 1206) the Turkish amirs and generals elected Aibek Sultan. He, however, preferred to stay in Lahore, where he ascended the throne on 24 June 1206.

Sultan Muhammad Ghuri's nephew and successor at Ghur, Ghiyas-ud-din Ghuri, gave Qutb-ud-din independence and the title of Sultan. The short reign of Sultan Qutb-ud-din (1206-1210) as an independent sovereign was chiefly occupied in defending his possessions against internal and external enemies. He had to keep a constant watch on the north-west frontier, for Ildiz now laid claim to his master's dominions in the subcontinent as well and Aibek's stay at Lahore is to be explained only in the context of the fear of possible invasion by Ildiz at any moment. In 1208 the pressure of Khwarizmshah obliged Ildiz to quit Ghazni and fall back upon the Panjab. Fearing that this might bring Khwarizmshah in pursuit, Aibek drove Ildiz out of the Panjab and, moving further, occupied Ghazni. Soon afterwards he gave up Ghazni and returned to Lahore.

Qutb-ud-din's position was precarious as his authority was challenged by Taj-ud-din Ildiz on the one hand and Qubachah on the other. The Hindu chiefs were watching for an opportunity to rebel. Qutb-ud-din Aibek, however, kept the situation under control.

Aibek fell from his horse while playing polo and died (1210). The period of his government from his first conquest of Delhi upto his death was twenty years, and his reign, as an independent monarch, was a little more than four years. It is doubtful, however, if he ever struck coins in his own name or used royal titles. In fact, however, Qutb-ud-din Aibek was the first independent Sultan of the newly established Sultanate of Delhi. Historians have highly praised Qutb-ud-din for his even-handed justice. He restored peace and order throughout his dominion, and roads were freed from thieves and robbers. His open-handed generosity earned him the title of *Lakh Bakhsh*. He was a pious Muslim and establish-

ed a system of mosques and schools in all Muslim township. He built two great mosques, one at Delhi and another at Ajmer. As a patron of learning and letters he bestowed favours on Hasan Nizami and Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, who dedicated their works to him.

Aram Shah (*1210-1211*)

When Qutb-ud-din Aibek died the amirs and maliks at Lahore placed his son Aram Shah on the throne, but because he was inexperienced, the nobles of Delhi disapproved of his election and invited Iltutmish, Aibek's son-in-law, who was at that time the governor of Bada'un to come to Delhi and assume the reins of government. Aram Shah marched from Lahore to Delhi but was defeated and captured by Iltutmish. Nothing more is heard about him. The political situation was dismal at the time of the accession of Iltutmish. Sind-Multan was held by Nasir-ud-din Qubachah and Delhi and its environs were in the possession of Iltutmish. In Bengal 'Ali Mardan, who had succeeded Muhammad bin Bakhtyar, had declared himself independent, Lahore was a bone of contention between Qubachah, Iltutmish and Ildiz who had recovered his position in Ghazni. A strong hand was needed to establish a stable control authority and restore a unity of purpose among the rival factions.

Shams-ud-din Iltutmish (*1211-1236*)

Iltutmish belonged to a noble family of the Ilbari Turks. His intelligence and beauty of person excited the jealousy of his brothers who sold him like Joseph to a slave dealer. After some time he was purchased by Sadr Jahan, the qazi of Bukhara, who educated him. Later he was brought to Delhi where Aibek bought him and treated him kindly. Iltutmish was first appointed *sar-jandar* (chief of the guards) and later raised to the high office of *amir-i-shikar*. He was then appointed amir of Gwalior and next put in charge of Bada'un. He showed great courage at the time of the suppression of the Khokars and so pleased was Sultan Muhammad Ghuri with him that he advised Aibek to manumit him.

Immediately on his accession Iltutmish was faced with a formidable rebellion of many nobles. But Iltutmish effectively suppressed

the rebels and brought the country between Banaras and the Siwalik Hills under his control. His position was still far from secure, and in an attempt to reconcile Ildiz he accepted the insignia of royalty sent by him. Lahore had meanwhile passed into the hands of Qubachah. In 1214 the Khwarizmshah ejected Ildiz from Ghazni who came to the Panjab and established himself at Lahore. Iltutmish marched against Ildiz and, in 1215, defeated him on the historic battlefield of Taraori, and took him captive. He was later executed. Lahore was again occupied by Qubachah, who was also defeated by Iltutmish and compelled to surrender the upper Panjab.

The Mongol Storm

About this time occurred the greatest calamity which the Muslim world had ever had to face—the irruption of the Mongols from their homelands into the prosperous and flourishing lands of the Muslims. "In its suddenness, its devastating destruction, its apalling ferocity, its passionless and purposeless cruelty, this outburst of the savage nomads...resembles rather some brute cataclysm of the blind forces of nature than a phenomenon of human life." These heathen Mongols under their leader Temujin, better known as Chengiz Khan, burst forth from the mountain steppes of Tartary into Islamic lands and plundered and burnt Balkh, Bukhara, Herat and Samarqand, murdering in cold blood thousands of men, women and children, leaving a trail of death and desolation behind them. The Khwarizmshahi Empire was torn asunder and 'Ala-ud-din Muhammad was obliged to seek shelter in a Caspian island where he eventually died while the crown-prince Jalal-ud-din Mangbarni was relentlessly chased across the Indus to find refuge in Sind Sagar doab (1221). Jalal-ud-din Mangbarni sent an envoy to Iltutmish requesting him asylum but, fearing that the consequences of giving shelter to him with his army of 10,000 men would create complications for himself and embroil him with the Mongols, Iltutmish sent a polite reply declining to give him support or shelter. Mangbarni retreated towards the Salt Range and attacked and defeated the Khokars, with whom he ultimately thought it prudent to establish a matrimonial alliance. This new alliance enabled him to fall upon Qubachah on whom

he inflicted a crushing defeat compelling him to pay an exorbitant tribute. After three years of restless wandering in West Panjab he ultimately turned to and plundered Sind and then crossed over to Persia in 1224. Thus was averted, for the time being, the great menace of Mongol invasion which had destroyed the Muslim civilization in Central Asia and Persia. The nascent Muslim Sultanate of Delhi was miraculously saved and in subsequent years it proved to be the greatest bulwark against fresh Mongol inroads as well as the safest refuge for Muslim fugitives from across the border. Iltutmish shares with Balban and 'Ala-ud-din Muhammad Khalaji the credit of saving the Delhi Sultanate from the Mongol menace. After this Iltutmish felt free to deal with his rivals and rebels who had waxed strong during the period of turmoil after the death of Aibek.

Bengal and Rajputana

Iltutmish now turned to Bengal where the Khalaji ruler Husam-ud-din 'Iwaz had assumed the title of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din and extended his authority over the territories of Jajnagar, Bang, Kamrup and Tirhut. In 1225 Iltutmish led an expedition against 'Iwaz who submitted and acknowledged his authority. Iltutmish returned to Delhi after appointing his son Nasir-ud-din Mahmud governor of Awadh. In 1227 Nasir-ud-din Mahmud attacked Lakhnauti and captured and killed Ghiyas-ud-din 'Iwaz. Iltutmish also launched a series of expeditions against the Hindu princes who had, while Iltutmish was engaged elsewhere, recovered most of their lost territories. In 1226 he recovered Ranthambhor and took Mandawar in the Siwalik Hills next year. He then turned his attention towards Qubachah, who was still supreme in Sind.

Sind and Multan

Taking advantage of Qubachah's preoccupation with Jalal-ud-din Mangbarni Iltutmish reoccupied Lahore. In 1228 he himself marched against Uchch directing his lieutenant from Lahore to attack Multan. Qubachah withdrew to the island fortress of Bhakkar in the lower Indus. After about three months of protracted siege the city of Uchch capitulated. A detachment of Delhi troops also pressed hard on Qubachah in his island refuge when

Jalalat-ud-din Raziyah

Raziyah had occasions to diplay her talent and ability in the lifetime of Iltutmish. He had entrusted her with the government of the capital when he had set out on the Gwalior expedition. On his return from the expedition he had nominated Raziyah as his successor. On this occasion the ministers of the state expressed their strong disapproval of this action, especially because the Sultan had male heirs. But Iltutmish knew the weaknesses of his sons as well as Raziyah's qualities and he refused to change the nomination.

On assuming the reins of government Raziyah was faced with a grave political situation. The provincial nobles who had brought about the fall of Firuz felt slighted when the Delhi faction raised Raziyah to the throne without their consent and they continued their rebellious march on Delhi. Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi, also did not acknowledge Raziyah's right to sovereignty and joined the rebels. Nevertheless, Raziyah took courage and coming out of the palace encamped near the rebel forces on the bank of the Jumna. By unusual courage and diplomacy she created divisions among her enemies and with the help of one group crushed the other. Junaidi fled to the Sirmur hills where he died. Raziyah appointed Khwajah Muhazzib-ud-din Husain as her *wazir* with the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk. All the governors now returned to their allegiance and even governors of the distant provinces of Bengal and Sind voluntarily submitted to her rule. In the words of the chronicler "from Lakhnauti to Dewal (Daibul) all the princes and nobles made their submission."

Not only did Raziyah establish law and order in her empire but her brave officers also dealt effectively with a formidable rebellion of the heretics. These were Isma'ilis, who under the leadership of one Nur-ud-din Turk assembled at Delhi and a force of one thousand fully armed men launched a murderous attack on the worshippers in the Jami' Mosque of Delhi on Friday, 5 March 1237. Many Muslims were killed till the officers of the state aided by their troops and members of the congregation crushed the rebellion.

Raziyah now took steps to assert herself in administrative matters. She laid aside female attire and donned male dress.

She appeared in public both in the court and in the battlefield. She promoted an Abyssinian named Jalal-ud-din Yaqut to the post of *amir-i-akhur* and made him her personal attendant. This was intended to break the monopoly of power claimed by the Turkish officers. The Turkish nobles sharply reacted to this and the 'Forty' under their leader Aitigin decided to remove Raziyah from the throne. These 'Forty' were a corps of highly placed and powerful officers whom Iltutmish had organized as his personal supporters. Now they had become too powerful and often created difficulties for the rulers. The governor of the Panjab was the first to rebel in 1239 but Raziyah successfully suppressed the revolt. This was followed by another rebellion by Altuniya, the governor of Bhatinda. Raziyah proceeded to Bhatinda to meet the rebels. Yaqut was killed and Raziyah was taken captive and imprisoned in the fortress of Bhatinda in the custody of Altuniya. The rebels then proceeded to Delhi where Iltutmish's third son Bahram had been raised to the throne with the title Mu'izz-ud-din (April 1240) by the 'Forty'. While a prisoner at Bhatinda, Raziyah in a desperate attempt to recapture the throne, married her captor and together they started for Delhi at the head of a large army, but they were defeated. In the course of their flight they both fell into the hands of Hindu robbers who killed them.

Raziyah was a talented woman. In the words of the chronicler, "she was wise, just and generous, a benefactor to her kingdom, a dispenser of justice, the protector of her subjects and the leader of her armies. She was endowed with all the qualities befitting a monarch." Her difficulties arose not so much from the fact that she was a woman, though this was a contributory cause, but from the contumacy of the nobles who had become too powerful.

Successors of Raziyah: Bahram to Nasir-ud-din Mahmud

The deposition and death of Raziyah was again followed by a period of confusion during which the "Forty" played the role of king makers and raised three sons of Iltutmish, Mu'izz-ud-din Bahram, 'Ala-ud-din Mas'ud and Nasir-ud-din Mahmud in quick succession to the throne. Bahram came to the throne on the condition that Aitigin would act as the sultan's deputy, to whom the Sultan had to delegate all powers. But Aitigin arrogated to himself some

of the royal prerogatives and the Sultan had him murdered. Then Badr-ud-din Sanqar, another powerful noble of the court, was detected hatching a conspiracy to despose the Sultan, who first removed him to Bada'un and then had him killed. The Turkish oligarchy became disgusted with the Sultan and organised a rebellion against him. When the royal authority became weak as a result of court-intrigue and mutual distrust, the Mongols, under their leader Bahadur Tair, came from Khurasan and Ghazni and suddenly appeared before the gates of Lahore. The governor of Lahore finding the situation untenable quietly left the city during the night and the city was left undefended. The Mongols occupied the city on 22 December 1241, slaughtered a large number of Muslims and made their dependents captives. The army which the Sultan despatched to relieve the city grew rebellious, fell back upon Delhi and besieged the Sultan in his palace for over three months. They occupied the city, made the Sultan first a prisoner and then killed him.

'Ala-ud-din Mas'ud, son of Firuz, was now raised to the throne. During his reign (1242-1245) east Bengal and Bihar broke away from the centre and Multan, Sind and Upper Panjab were also lost to the Sultanate. An event of great importance was the appointment of Baha-ud-din Balban, later known as Ulugh Khan, to the post of *amir hajib,* who organised a large army to repel the Mongol invaders. He relieved Uchch and forced the Mongols back (1245). Mas'ud by his vigorous rule tried to re-establish the prestige of the monarchy and curb the power of the "Forty". The Turkish officers deposed him and raised Nasir-ud-din Mahmud to the throne. He was a pious and generous prince, but his reign (1246-66) was also a period of increasing court-intrigue and saw the rapid weakening of royal authority. Dissensions among the nobles at the court and the contumacious behaviour of the provincial governors invited renewed aggression on the part of the Mongols. However, fortunately for Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, he had in Balban, his *amir hajib,* a man of strong personality and foresight, who took over all power which the Sultan only too willingly surrendered to him. The Sultan thus became a figurehead and the Sultanate was governed on his behalf by Balban. The story of the reign of Sultan Mahmud is, in fact, history of the

activities of Balban who, for two decades, was the chief power behind the throne.

Early career of Balban

Son of a Turkish noble of the Ilbari tribe, Balban was captured by the Mongols early in his life and sold as a captive in Baghdad to Khwajah Jamal-ud-din Basri. Later in 1232, he was taken to Delhi and sold to Sultan Iltutmish. He gradually rose to the exalted position of *amir hajib* during the reign of 'Ala-ud-din Mas'ud Shah. Under Nasir-ud-din, Balban soon overshadowed all his campatriots. and came virtually to posess the supreme power. He first turned his attention to the restoration of the central authority. Starting with the Sultan late in 1246 he crossed the Ravi early in 1247 and chastised the Khokars and the Jats of the Salt Range who had assisted the Mongol invaders. A Mongol army that was encamped on the river Jhelum was forced to retreat and Balban returned to Delhi in May 1247. He then undertook several expeditions (1248) against the rebellious Hindu chiefs of the Doab. In the neighbourhood of Qanauj there was a strong fortress called Talsandah which was conquered after a severe battle. The country between Kalinjar and Karah was cleared of rebels. Balban then turned his attention towards Mewat, south of Delhi, and crushed the rebellious activities of the Meos. Ranthambhor, which had been recovered by the Hindus, was next attacked. These campaigns earned Balban new favours from the Sultan who now married one of Balban's daughters, and appointed him *malik naib* (Lord Lieutenant of the Empire) with the title of Ulugh Khan. His brother Saif-ud-din was appointed as *amir hajib.* Balban thereafter subdued the Rajas of Gwalior, Chanderi, Malwa and Narwar.

Balban's growing power aroused the jealousy of his enemies who conspired to bring about his fall. They succeeded in poisoning the Sultan's mind against him. The Sultan removed Balban from office in March 1253. 'Imad-ud-din Raihan, a converted Muslim, was now appointed as *wakil-i-dar* and entrusted with powers enjoyed by Balban. The Turkish amirs were soon disillusioned and again rallied around Balban and marched towards Delhi. The Sultan came out to oppose them but an armed conflict was

avoided when the Sultan agreed to dismiss Raihan and reinstate Balban in his previous position. Balban returned to the capital in January 1255.

Balban's return to power was characterised by vigorous military action against the rebels. A formidable rebellion was organised by Qutlugh Khan, governor of Awadh (who had married the queen-mother) in conjunction with Kishlu Khan, governor of Multan and Uchh. Their combined forces marched towards Delhi with the purpose of ousting Balban from power in collaboration with some nobles at the court. But they were repulsed and while Kishlu Khan withdrew to Uchh, Qutlugh Khan was never heard of again.

Towards the close of 1257 the Mongols joined by Kishlu Khan, who was in league with the great Mongol over-lord, Hulagu Khan, invaded the Panjab and it was feared that they would cross the river Sutlaj. Roused into prompt action the Sultan summoned all the forces that could be collected safely. But the Mongols retreated at the approach of the royal army.

The last great expedition undertaken by Balban was against the Meos of Mewat in 1260. These robbers had infested the roads in the neighbourhood of Delhi and ravaged the country by plundering the property of the people and destroying the villages. Earlier measures against them had not put a stop to their depredations. Balban now decided to inflict an exemplary punishment on them. By a concerted operation of the principal amirs and *maliks* he surprised the Meos in their hideouts within twenty days and inflicted heavy punishment on them.

About this time an envoy from the court of Hulagu Khan visited Delhi. This was in reply to a friendly overture made earlier by Balban. The Mongol envoy was given an impressive reception. Armed men numbering two hundred thousand foot and fifty thousand horse with banners and accoutrements were assembled in the new city of Kilokhari near Delhi where they were drawn up shoulder to shoulder in twenty lines. The palace was decorated sumptuously. The princes and the nobles attended the reception in gorgeous dresses. The Mongol representatives were awestruck by the grandeur and majesty of the Delhi Sultanate.

The last few years of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud's reign were appa-

rently peaceful. The Sultan fell ill in 1265 and died on 18 February 1266. History and legend unite in extolling the virtues, frugality and austerity of this monarch who devoted his time to acts of piety, such as copying the Quran, leaving the affairs of the state in the hands of his deputy and father-in-law, Ghiyas-ud-din Balban. It was not until the time of the great 'Alamgir that we come across another sovereign like him, taking pride in the austere and simple way of life of the early Caliphs of Islam. But unlike 'Alamgir who both reigned and ruled, Sultan Nasir-ud-din Mahmud completely engrossed himself in pious and religious practices.

During the reign of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud attempts were also made to bring the principality of Lakhnauti under effective control but with only limited success. In 1252-53 Mughis-ud-din Yuzbek was appointed governor of Awadh, Bihar and Bengal. He extended his dominions in Bengal by conquering Radha and Nadia. He then flouted the authority of Delhi and assumed independence. After his death in the course of a rashly conducted campaign in Kamrup in (1257), Arsalan Khan became supreme in Awadh, Bihar and Bengal and on his death his son Tatar Khan succeeded him and assumed the pompous title of "Chief of all the Maliks of China and the East."

Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Balban (1266-1287)

The accession of Balban to the throne of Delhi early in 1266 marked the final consummation of two decades of his rule as Lord Lieutenant of the Empire on behalf of Sultan Nasir-ud-din Mahmud. The line of Iltutmish had proved most incompetent since Raziyah's death. The preponderating influence of the "Forty", further diminished the prestige of the crown. Balban struggled hard to break the power of the 'Forty' and concentrate all authority in his own hands on behalf of the Sultan. He pursued the same policy on accession to the throne. Balban was determined to put an end to indiscipline and restore the power and prestige of the monarch.

Administrative Measures

In his attempt to rehabilitate the prestige of the Sultanate Balban had to enforce recognized forms of court etiquette strictly. Although like Iltutmish he belonged to the famous Ilbari clan of

the Turks, he sought to buttress his position by claiming descent from Afrasiyab, the legendary Turanian hero of the *Shahnamah*, and gave Persian names to his grandsons: Kaikhursrau, Kaiqubad, Kaikaus, Kaimurs. Thus he combined practical ability with a claim to ancient lineage. His experience of twenty years under Nasir-ud-din Mahmud had shown him the dangers to which the monarchy was exposed by the selfishness of the Turkish oligarchy. He always remained serious and nobody, not even his personal attendants, ever saw him laughing. Although the death of his eldest son Prince Muhammad late in life broke his heart, he did not allow his inner feelings to ruffle the repose of his countenance. He was every inch a king and was never seen except in full dress even by his private servants.

He did not allow persons of mean origin and low morals to come near him, nor would he appoint them to any post of responsibility. As a Muslim, Sultan Balban had a high regard for the teachings of Islam. "The monarch must behave", Balban is said to have remarked, "in such a way that his words, deeds, orders, and personal qualities and virtues may induce people to live according to the laws of *shari'ah*". Convivial parties, wine drinking and gambling were strictly prohibited. Balban was punctilious in his observance of religious duties. He preferred the company of the *'ulama* with whom he often took his meals and discussed religious topics. He showed great reverence for saints and holy men.

Balban's power as a sultan was greatly enhanced by the fear of Mongol invasions, and his determination to keep them off. Nobles and people alike knew the consequences of weakness. Balban afforded asylum to fugitive princes and men of letters who shed lustre on his court, and Balban was rightly proud of it.

Balban's strict justice earned him popularity and respect. He achieved the two criteria of a successful monarch in those times, namely, maintenance of peace and order and administration of even-handed justice. He was no respecter of persons in administering justice and two high-ranking officers Malik Baqbaq, the governor of Bada'un and Haibat Khan the governor of Awadh were given exemplary punishment for their offences.

Balban strengthened the organization of newswriters (*barids*) who were directly appointed by him and posted in distant places

with a mandate to report to him the activities of local officers. Particular care was taken to ensure their loyalty to the Sultan. It was with the help of these informers that Balban made his authority felt in far flung areas of the Empire. But the real strength of a ruler lay in well-equipped and satisfied soldiery and he strove hard to create one. On his accession he increased the number of his soldiers and appointed officers of proven loyalty and efficiency over them. Their pay was increased and lands were assigned to them. He resumed lands in cases where the assignees failed to discharge their duties. On the occasion of an expedition to Lahore in the third year of his reign he discovered that two thousand horsemen of Sultan Iltutmish's time had been assigned *jagirs* in the Doab in lieu of salary but they rendered little or no service as most of the original assignees were either dead or too old for active service while the rest fraudulently enjoyed the benefits of the grants without rendering any corresponding services to the state. After a strict enquiry into each grant Balban ordered the resumption of these assignments. On the recommendation of the Kotwal, the aged servicemen were granted pensions and the able-bodied were absorbed in the regular army.

Balban, in spite of his ability and ambition, shrank from pursuing any scheme of conquest, for it was the fear of recurring Mongol invasions that became his chief pre-occupation throughout his reign and he never left the capital. When his courtiers urged him to conquer Gujarat and other kingdoms he remarked that he did not like Delhi to be exposed to the same fate as was Baghdad. He, therefore, made elaborate arrangements for the defence of the western frontier of the empire. His cousin Sher Khan, who was the governor of the frontier provinces of Multan and Dipalpur, proved "like the walls of Gog and Magog to the Mongols."

After the death of Sher Khan, Balban's eldest son Muhammad was appointed governor of Multan and Dipalpur, while the district of Samana was separated and put under his second son Bughra Khan. Muhammad was entrusted with the supreme command of the frontier region with a select army under the charge of two commanders, each keeping a picked force of eighteen

thousand horsemen, while an equal number was held in reserve near Delhi to supplement the main force. This security arrangement proved successful and the Mongols were effectively kept in check. It goes to the credit of Balban that he not only saved Delhi by his successful frontier policy but also afforded protection to a large number of fugitives in his kingdom.

Suppression of lawlessness and sedition

The organisation of the government and the army gradually led to stability in the realm and the prestige of the crown was greatly enhanced. With the help of the recently reorganised army Balban started to deal with anarchy and rebellions. The Meos had recovered from the severe blows that Balban had earlier inflicted on them. They resumed their notorious activities by plundering the travellers and prowling into the city at night. Even by day, they assaulted the *bihistis* and the girls drawing water from the reservoirs within the city walls and stripped them of their belongings. It became necessary to close the western gate of the metropolis after the afternoon prayer. The Sultan cleared the jungles and drove brigands from their hideouts. New posts were built around the city and the old ones repaired and adequately garrisoned (1266-67).

The Doab (between the Ganges and the Jumna) constantly gave trouble. It was necessary to keep the road to Bengal open. Balban planted Muslim soldiers in towns and entrusted them with the duty of maintaining law and order. Balban personally went round Kampil, Patiali, Bhojpur and Jalali (1267) and erected military posts in these places.

While the Sultan was engaged in the Doab serious disturbance broke out in Katehar (Rohilkhand). The governors of Bada'un and Amroha found it difficult to deal with the situation. Balban returned to Delhi, assembled the best of his troops and marched towards Katehar (1268). He beguiled his enemies by giving it out that he was going on a hunting expedition and surprised them by suddenly appearing in Katehar. The insurgents suffered heavy losses and were completely suppressed, and unbroken peace and order prevailed for thirty years throughout the whole region.

In 1268-69 Balban led punitive expeditions against the Jats of the Salt Range and reestablished order in the Panjab.

The Mongols

In 1279 the Mongols reappeared on the north-western frontier and harrying the Upper Panjab they crossed the Sutlej. But the combined forces of Muhammad and Bughra Khan inflicted such a heavy defeat on them that they did not dare cross the Sutlej again.

Bengal

Balban led an expedition to deal with the rebellion of Tughril in Bengal (1279), who had assumed sovereign status by declaring independence. He had adopted the title of Mughis-ud-din. He defeated two armies sent by Balban one after another. Furious with rage, Balban started for Bengal at the head of a large army accompanied with a flotilla of boats in 1280. Although Tughril avoided a direct clash and went into hiding, a detachment of the Sultan's army discovered his whereabouts and killed him in an encounter. Balban meted out an exemplary punishment to the relatives and followers of Tughril by hanging them in the open market-place at Lakhnauti. It was necessary to give heavy punishments to rebels to consolidate the Sultanate. He left his son Bughra Khan as governor of Bengal and returned to Delhi.

Death of Prince Muhammad and the last days of Balban

Balban received the most staggering blow of his life when his eldest son Muhammad, whom he had nominated as his heir-apparent, and whose qualities had won him the universal esteem of his contemporaries, died early in 1286 in a severe engagement with the Mongols on the Lahore-Dipalpur border. Although the Delhi army repulsed the Mongol attack, the death of this bright, promising young son was a severe setback to the dynasty. Muhammad was courageous, noble minded and cultured. He patronised men of letters and the eminent poets Amir Khusraw and Amir Hasan Sijzi were in his entourage. He held discussions with men of learning and all historians are full of praise for this dignified and munificent prince.

Realising that his own end was near, Balban summoned Bughra Khan to come to Delhi. Bughra stayed by his side for some time but the latter preferred the ease and luxury of Lakhnauti to the puritanical atmosphere of Delhi. The dying Sultan in disgust nominated Kaikhusraw, the son of the martyr Prince Muhammad. Balban died late in 1287. Because of his great qualities, his death was deeply mourned. "The Maliks in grief at Balban's death", says Barani, "tore their garments and threw dust on their heads as they followed, barefoot, the Sultan's bier to the burial ground at *Dar-ul-Aman*. For forty days they mourned his death and slept on the bare floor".

Achievements

Balban's historic role in consolidating the Delhi Sultanate can hardly be overemphasised. Coming at a very critical time when, because of internal chaos and external aggression, the Sultanate was almost on the point of dissolution, he gave a new form and content to monarchy. He infused efficiency in the administration, centralised the machinery of the government and secured the obedience of all recalcitrant elements. Exigencies of the situation demanded his whole-hearted attention to the internal affairs of the state and restrained him from pursuing any policy of unrestricted expansion. He stemmed the tide of Mongol invasions. His frontier policy and internal security system bore fruitful results and the Sultanate struck roots into the soil.

Successors of Balban

The system that Balban had built up could work well only in the hands of an equally brilliant ruler. But his successors proved quite unworthy of the task. In choosing their monarch the courtiers disregarded Balban's dying injunctions and raised Kaiqubad, son of Bughra Khan, to the throne of Delhi. The prince, who was only seventeen years old, had been brought up in an atmosphere of austere discipline under the strict vigilance of his grandfather. He now suddenly found himself in the midst of affluence and wealth. He lost his head and completely gave himself up to pleasure, his court becoming the haunt of vulgar and mean persons. While the Sultan was thus immersed in sensual pleasures, administration

was conducted by Malik Nizam-ud-din, son-in-law of the aged Kotwal Fakhr-ud-din. He wielded undisputed authority and even aspired to the throne. At his instigation the Sultan executed Kai-khusraw and removed Khwaja Khatir, the *wazir*. A number of nobles and courtiers were severely punished on flimsy charges of sedition.

News of Kaiqubad's revelries and the machinations of Nizam-ud-din reached Bughra Khan in Bengal. He wrote several letters to his indolent son but he failed in bringing his son to his senses. At this he decided to go to Delhi, and Kaiqubad marched from Delhi to prevent his father from coming to the capital. A meeting was arranged between father and son on the banks of the Sarju in Awadh. This meeting provided the theme of one of the poems (*Qiran-us-sa'dain*) of Amir Khusraw. As the father attended the court he bowed and kissed the ground before his son who was seated on the throne. Kaiqubad was overwhelmed with emotion. He got up from his throne and threw himself at his father's feet and burst into tears. Whether or not Nasir-ud-din Bughra Khan wanted to claim the crown for himself is a matter of speculation, but he finally decided to leave the son alone after giving him plenty of good advice. When the father and son finally embraced each other Bughra Khan whispered into the ears of his son to get rid of such intriguing courtiers as Nizam-ud-din. The young Sultan on his return ordered the minister to proceed to Multan as governor but when he hesitated to comply with the order the Sultan had him removed.

The effect of Nizam-ud-din's death was the removal of the only stabilising factor in the state and the resultant scramble for power facilitated the Khalaji revolution for which Nizam-ud-din had himself indirectly prepared the ground. The Sultan appointed a Khalaji Malik, named Firuz, as *'ariz-i-mumalik*. Kaiqubad's excesses led to a complete break down of his health. He got a stroke of paralysis and was on the verge of death. This was the signal for a revolution. Firuz marched on Delhi. The Turkish leaders and nobles viewed this with grave concern and raised Kaiqubad's three year old son, Kaimurs to the throne with the title of Shams-ud-din, on whose behalf they decided to act. In the confusing struggle that ensued Firuz became master of the situation

by managing to hasten the end of the dying Kaiqubad and taking possession of the person of the infant king. For three months Firuz conducted the affairs of the state as regent but finally declared himself Sultan with the title of Jalal-ud-din in the palace of Kilukhari on 13 June 1290. The dissipated dynasty of Balban having exhausted itself, the early Turkish Sultanate came to an end and a new vigorous line succeeded to the throne of Delhi.

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CHAPTER VI

The Khalaji Dynasty

Jalal-ud-din Firuz (1290-1296)

Malik Firuz, the founder of the Khalaji dynasty, ascended the throne on 13 June 1290 as Jalal-ud-din Firuz Shah. The Khalajis were Central Asian in origin but had lived in Afghanistan so long that they had become different from the Turks in their customs and manners. The Muslim population of Delhi was overwhelmingly Turkish and did not react favourably to the change. Jalal-ud-din Firuz, therefore, enthroned himself at Kaiqubad's unfinished palace at Kilukhari and preferred to stay there for some time. Soon, however, the mildness and generosity of Firuz removed all popular prejudice against him, and he formally entered the city and took residence in the old palace.

Jalal-ud-din adopted a policy of appeasement by retaining some of the leading officers of the past. 'Ala-ud-din Kishlu Khan, famous as Malik Chhajju, a nephew of Balban and the sole survivor of the old dynasty, was permitted to retain his governorship of Karah-Manikpur. Khwaja Khatir, the *wazir* under Balban and Kaiqubad, was confirmed in his office. Fakhr-ud-din,

the Kotwal of Delhi, was also re-employed. Among the kinsmen of the new Sultan his eldest son received the title of Khan Khanan, the second of Arkali Khan and the third of Qadr Khan, while his younger brother was appointed *'ariz-i-mumalik*. His two nephews, 'Ala-ud-din and Almas Beg, were elevated to important positions in the royal household, the former being appointed as *amir tuzuk* and the other as *akhur beg*. Another relation, a cousin, the blunt and outspoken Ahmad Chap, was appointed *na'ib barbek*.

His conduct on the occasion of his first entry into Balban's Red Palace at Delhi earned him the support of many who had so long opposed him. He dismounted at the gate of the Palace, wept bitterly and expressed his unworthiness to occupy the throne of Balban. This shows that his motive in becoming the sultan was mainly to rescue the sultanate from chaos and anarchy.

Revolt of Malik Chhajju

A couple of months after his accession, Malik Chhajju pressed his claim to the throne and assumed royal title at Karah. He was joined by the governor of Awadh. He started for Delhi with a large army but was stopped near Bada'un and defeated. He fled from the field but the royal army captured him along with his adherents who were brought in fetters before the Sultan. The latter, as was his wont, wept bitterly at the woeful plight of the prisoners, ordered their release and praised them for their loyalty to their former master. When Ahmad Chap remonstrated with him about the consequences of such an impolitic action he replied that he would rather relinquish the throne than shed the blood of Muslims to maintain it. The Sultan's nephew and son-in-law, 'Ala-ud-din was now appointed to the government of Karah.

Firuz showed unwise kindness to even ordinary criminals and thieves. The thugs who infested the environment of Delhi were not punished but were merely transferred to Bengal, where they were set free. Such behaviour fostered sedition, and in a drinking party some nobles indulged in seditious references to the Sultan whom they proposed to kill and elect instead one Taj-ud-din Kuchi, a prominent member of the former corps of "Forty". When Firuz came to know of this he called the conspirators and challenged

them to an open fight. A few words, however, easily calmed him down and he pardoned all of them.

Conspiracy of Sidi Maula

Sidi Maula, a disciple of Shaikh Farid-ud-din Ganj Shakar, maintained a hospice at Delhi where large number of people were fed every day. The Sultan's eldest son Khan Khanan is said to have been one of his disciples. But the hospice soon became a centre of political intrigue, and a conspiracy to kill Firuz and declare Sidi Maula as the caliph came to light and all the conspirators including Sidi Maula were arrested. Sidi Maula was then put to death by a *qalandar* at the instance of the Sultan. Sidi Maula was held in great esteem by a large number of people and they connected a dust-storm that followed with his death.

Expedition to Ranthambhor

Not only was the Sultan vacillating in his treatment of the rebels, he was also equally half-hearted in his campaigns against the Hindu rulers. In 1290 he led an expedition to Ranthambhor, leaving his second son Arkali Khan as regent at the capital, the eldest son Khan Khanan having died shortly after the death of Sidi Maula. Firuz captured the fortress of Jhain but when the Rana shut himself up in the fort of Ranthambhor and offered resistance, he decided not to besiege it. To Ahmad Chap's objections he replied that ten such forts were not worth the loss of a single hair of a Muslim.

Mongol Invasion

Firuz was, however, more successful in his campaign against the Mongols. In 1292 a vast horde of Mongols under Abdullah, estimated at 150,000 invaded the subcontinent penetrating as far as Sunnam. Firuz who had encountered the Mongols earlier as 'warden of the marches', at once set out to meet the invaders and completely overpowered them. The Mongols then withdrew. Ulghu, a descendant of Chengiz Khan decided to stay back. He accepted Islam with 4000 of his followers and the Sultan gave him his daughter in marriage. These 'New Muslims', as they were

called, entered the Sultan's service and were settled in the suburbs of Delhi where quarters were assigned to them. But after a few years many of them left for their homes as the climate of Delhi did not suit them. Some families remained, intermarried with the local Muslims and adopted their customs and manners. In the same year the Sultan undertook an expedition to Mandor and also raided the Jhain territory.

Raid on Bhilsa

Towards the end of 1292 'Ala-ud-din obtained permission of the Sultan to invade Malwa. He advanced to Malwa and captured the town of Bhilsa from where he brought immense booty to Delhi. The Sultan was highly pleased. He made him *'ariz-i-mumalik* and added Awadh to his charge of Karah.

Expedition to Deogir

While at Bhilsa 'Ala-ud-din came to know of the vast wealth of the great southern kingdom of Deogir. This whetted his ambition to embark on a conquest of the south. He sought the Sultan's permission to raid Chanderi and defer payment of the revenues of Karah and Awadh to enable him to raise additional forces. Leaving Malik 'Ala-ul-Mulk, uncle of the historian Barani as his deputy at Karah, 'Ala-ud-din set out on 26 February, 1296, with an army of 8000 and reached Ellichpur, the northern outpost of the Yadava kingdom of Deogir. First posing as a dissatisfied Delhi noble seeking service with some ruler 'Ala-ud-din pushed on unmolested and appeared before Deogir. At that time the main Yadava army was away with Ramachandra's son Shankara (Singhana) on a pilgrimage to the south. 'Ala-ud-din attacked Deogir and Ramachandra, seeing no escape, sued for peace. Eager to return from his unauthorised campaign 'Ala-ud-din concluded a treaty. Shankara on hearing about the Muslim invasion hurried to the capital and attacked the Muslims from the rear. The timely arrival of Nusrat Khan with a contingent that was posted at the gates of the fort turned the tide and the victorious 'Ala-ud-din dictated fresh and harsher terms of peace. Besides the enormous booty consisting of thirty to forty elephants, thousands of horses, some 1400 pounds of gold and a great quan-

tity of pearls and rubies, 'Ala-ud-din now demanded cession of Ellichpur and the payment of a huge indemnity. The Raja accepted these terms and 'Ala-ud-din by forced marches returned to Karah on 3 June 1296.

The Sultan was kept in the dark about 'Ala-ud-din's activities. Early in 1296 he went on a hunting expedition to Gwalior. Here he came to know of his son-in-law's unprecedented success in the Deccan and his acquisition of immense wealth. The Sultan was elated with joy and even expressed the desire to go and meet 'Ala-ud-din. Ahmad Chap, however, warned him against such a dangerous step and advised him to intercept 'Ala-ud-din at Chanderi. But the Sultan did not pay any heed to this advice. Moreover he received a letter from 'Ala-ud-din begging his pardon for having undertaken the expedition without his permission. This was followed up by another letter in which 'Ala-ud-din expressed his desire either to go to Bengal or commit suicide unless the Sultan would come personally to Karah and pardon him. Firuz was moved by these protestations of loyalty and proceeded by river to Karah with a few trusted courtiers while an army followed him by land. 'Ala-ud-din's brother Almas Beg, who accompanied the Sultan from Delhi, persuaded him to meet his nephew with a few unarmed attendants as armed guards were likely to frighten 'Ala-ud-din. The whole affair turned out to be a well-laid conspiracy of which Firuz was unaware. As the Sultan received 'Ala-ud-din the latter fell at the Sultan's feet and Firuz raised him up assuring him of his continued affection. But as the Sultan led 'Ala-ud-din to his boat two assassins attacked him and killed him (20 July 1296). It is difficult to sort out the responsibility. Jalal-ud-din's leniency was responsible for alienating the feelings of many Khalaji nobles who thought that their interests were not safe in the hands of such a mild leader. It is difficult also to gauge the Sultan's real feelings towards 'Ala-ud-din, whose brilliant generalship, realism and vast treasurers made him a potent source of danger as a likely focal point of Khalaji fears as well as ambitions. Was Firuz really sincere in his affection for 'Ala-ud-din or was laying a trap for him? Was Almas Beg aware of the Sultan's possible malafides? 'Ala-ud-din could logically infer that the Sultan would like to remove him. Therefore, he countered Firuz's moves and ultimately

won. Firuz's intentions can be a matter of speculation but 'Ala-ud-din's reactions and surmises were logical and natural and therefore his action was not so highly criminal as it looks at first sight.

'Ala-ud-din Muhammad Khalaji (*1296-1316*)

Immediately after the murder of Jalal-ud-din Firuz, 'Ala-ud-din was proclaimed Sultan. But his position was far from secure, because he had still to reconcile the nobles and the people to his action. The division in Firuz's family helped 'Ala-ud-din's cause. In total disregard of the claim of Arkali Khan, the eldest surviving son, who was at Multan, the queen-mother Malikah-i-Jahan, whom Barani calls "the silliest of the silly", declared a younger son of Firuz as sultan with the title of Rukn-ud-din Ibrahim. The supporters of Arkali Khan at Delhi refused to recognize Ibrahim. 'Ala-ud-din lost no time and marched on Delhi with 'iron in one hand and gold in the other'. At every stage gold and silver coins were scattered from a small catapult pitched outside the royal tent. At Bada'un he met an army sent from Delhi to oppose him but it was won over by lavish distribution of gold. As 'Ala-ud-din approached Delhi, the boy sultan came out to give a fight but the bulk of his army deserted him. The queen-mother with the boy sultan and the faithful Ahmad Chap left for Multan. 'Ala-ud-din triumphantly marched into the capital and took up his residence in the Red Palace of Balban (20 October 1296). 'Ala-ud-din then set about the task of reorganising his government and rewarding those who had supported him. He showed prudence and far-sight in retaining the services of some of the old Jalali nobles; Khwajah Jahan (Khwajah Khatir) was confirmed as *wazir*, 'Ala-ul-Mulk was appointed governor of Karah, Zafar Khan was made *'ariz-i-mumalik,* Nusrat Khan became the *kotwal* of Delhi. Qazi Sadr-i-Jahan was given the office of *qazi-i-mumalik.* His own brother, Almas Beg, who was the chief architect of 'Ala-ud-din's success, was the recipient of the highest title of Ulugh Khan, while Malik Sanjar, the brother of his second wife was given the title of Alf (Alp) Khan. During the early years of his reign 'Ala-ud-din was faithfully served by four competent and energetic persons:

his brother Ulugh Khan, Nusrat Khan, Zafar Khan and Alp Khan.

After organizing the government 'Ala-ud-din sent Ulugh Khan and Zafar Khan to Multan at the head of a large army to deal with the sons of the late Sultan. Multan was besieged and the city surrendered. Arkali Khan, Ibrahim and Ahmad Chap were taken captive along with the queen-mother. The two princes were executed while the queen-mother was kept under surveillance at Delhi.

The Mongol invasions

The Mongol danger was still grave. A Mongol army, 100,000 strong, led by Kadar invaded the Panjab. (1297-98). Ulugh Khan defeated them near Jullundhar and drove them away with heavy losses. But they appeared again in Sind under Saldi (1299) and this time Zafar Khan captured 2000 Mongols along with their leaders and sent them in chains to Delhi. There were great rejoicings at Delhi in commemoration of the victory.

Early conquests

The kingdom of Gujarat, reputed to be fabulously wealthy attracted the attention of 'Ala-ud-din early in his reign. In 1298 he sent Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan to conquer Gujarat. The Baghela chief Rai Karan, after offering some resistance fled with his daughter Deval Devi to seek shelter with Raja Ramachandra of Deogir leaving his wife Kamala Devi who fell into the hands of the Muslims together with the royal treasures. Nusrat Khan then proceeded to the rich port of Cambay and obtained enormous booty from there. But by far the most important acquisition was a handsome Hindu eunuch who later became famous as Malik Kafur Hazardinari. After the establishment of Muslim administration in Gujarat, Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan started for Delhi but on the way troubles broke out in the army over the distribution of spoils. The 'New Muslims' mutinied and killed Nusrat Khan's brother and a nephew of the Sultan. But the two generals stood firm and by the beat of drums assembled the loyal soldiers who pursued the rebels killing them indiscriminately.

Early projects of 'Ala-ud-din

'Ala-ud-din's success in every field enhanced his prestige. Barani who was not favourably inclined towards him says that he began to entertain the desire of founding a new religion and also of conquering the world like Alexander the Great. He used to say: "God Almighty gave the blessed Prophet four companions through whose energy and power law and religion were established and through the establishment of law and religion the name of the Prophet will last to the Day of Judgment. God has given me also four companions—Ulugh Khan, Zafar Khan, Nusrat Khan and Alp Khan. If I am so inclined, I can, with the help of these companions, establish a new religion and my sword and the swords of my companions will bring all men to adopt it. Through this religion, my name and those of my companions will remain among men to the last day. My wish is to place Delhi in charge of a vicegerent, and then I will go out myself into the world, like Alexander, in pursuit of conquest and subdue the whole inhabited world." The absurdity of 'Ala-ud-din's propositions was clear to his companions who, however, lacked the courage to openly express their views. Fortunately for the Sultan, the opinion of 'Ala-ul-Mulk, the sagacious *kotwal* of Delhi, was sought and he gave sincere and correct advice. "Religion," he said, "originates from Divine inspiration and not from human design. It is the concern of the Prophets and not of kings. Its success never depends on power or might but on the will of God." As for the second project of world conquest, 'Ala-ul-Mulk rightly pointed out that it suited great kings to cherish designs of world conquest but the Sultan should first turn to the kingdoms in the subcontinent, the conquest of which would suffice to give him lasting fame and, secondly, there was the great Mongol menace which also had to be liquidated. Convinced of the *kotwal's* wisdom, the Sultan rewarded him for his courage and frankness.

Mongol attack on Delhi

Towards the end of 1299 a vast horde of 200,000 Mongols under Qutlugh Khwajah crossed the Indus and advanced upto Delhi. The people grew panicky and flocked to the capital in large numbers crowding into mosques, streets and bazars. The Sultan

decided to face the Mongols in the suburb of Siri and went out of the city. The Sultan succeeded in defeating and dispersing the enemy. Zafar Khan, the greatest warrior of the age, however, lost his life in pursuit of the Mongols, but the valour displayed by him made a great impression on the Mongols who retired to their own country.

Conquest of Ranthambhor

'Ala-ud-din sent an expedition against Ranthambhor because the ruler Hamir Deo had given shelter to the rebellious 'New Muslims.' Moreover this was a strong fortress of great strategic importance. Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan were sent at the head of a large army to besiege the fortress. During the siege Nusrat Khan was struck by a missile and died shortly afterwards. This completely disheartened the Muslims and Ulugh Khan was obliged to retreat. The Sultan, therefore, marched in person to Ranthambhor but, on the way, an attempt was made on his life by one of his nephews who aspired to the throne. The rebel was killed and the Sultan proceeded to Ranthambhor.

While the siege of Ranthambhor was still in progress two nephews of the Sultan rebelled in Bada'un and Awadh but they were soon overpowered. But a much more serious rebellion occurred in Delhi (in May 1301) led by one Haji Maula, an old servant of the house of Balban. After the death of the old *kotwal* 'Ala-ul-Mulk, his successor Tirmizi pursued a policy of oppression and the discontented populace at the instigation of Haji Maula entered the house of the *kotwal* and killed him. They also plundered the treasury and raised to the throne a Saiyid and compelled the citizens to pay homage to him. The Sultan sent his foster-brother Malik Hamid-ud-din to Delhi. He assembled a small band of his followers, forced his way through the western gate of the city and was soon joined by some loyal elements who now attacked Haji Maula who was killed. The Saiyid was beheaded in the Red Palace. Order was restored in Delhi.

The Sultan now concentrated his energies on the siege of Ranthambor. Using sand-bags to fill the moat, the Muslims scaled the walls and captured the fortress on 11 July 1301, and Hamir

Deo was killed. Shortly after the conquest of Ranthambhor the Sultan's brother, the great general Ulugh Khan died.

Administrative Reforms

The constant danger of Mongol invasions needed a stable and efficient government, but frequent rebellions made stability impossible. The Sultan, therefore, decided to examine the problem. After holding consultations with his trusted advisers he came to the conclusion that there was not sufficient realization of the Mongol danger. Besides, there was too much affluence and indulgence in convivial parties and social functions leading to loose talk and intrigue. The nobles allied themselves with one another through matrimonial relations and when such groups were formed, ideas of rebellion to sieze power entered their heads. In addition, the state needed all possible attention and financial resources available to the Muslims for defending them against the onslaught of the heathen Mongols who had even knocked at the very gates of Delhi. The fate of the Muslims in the older Muslim lands of Western Asia was known to the Sultan. He, therefore, decided to take drastic steps for the purpose of building up a strong Muslim state to deal with the problem.

He, therefore, decided first to impose a strict discipline upon himself. He now began to supervise the working of the government personally. He also strengthened the intelligence service so that he could keep himself well informed about all happenings. Then he prohibited the manufacture, sale and drinking of wine. The Sultan himself set an example by giving up drinking, breaking his wine cups and causing his jars to be emptied outside the Bada'un gate. Severe punishments were prescribed for the breach of this order. This in itself made convivial parties lifeless, but the Sultan went further and prohibited social gatherings in the houses of the nobles and marriages between members of their families without permission.

The Sultan then turned his attention to fiscal matters. He withdrew all grants of land which could not be justified on the basis of service tendered to the state; wherever it was practicable, salaries were paid in cash. The main source of the government was the state demand on agricultural produce. He decided to raise the

share of the state to the Islamic maximum of a half. Then he made the rule of Measurement the practice instead of actual division of the crops. Under Measurement land actually cultivated was measured and state demand was fixed on the basis of schedules of average produce for the area concerned. He took steps to see that the peasants were justly treated and that what they paid came to the coffers of the state rather than go into the pockets of middlemen.

He, therefore, took steps to control the local Hindu revenue agents and officials who had hitherto waxed fat at the cost of the state and the peasant. They were given to evade taxes and to shift their burden on to the peasants. This was stopped. Even the perquisites realised by the Hindu chiefs whose assistance had been sought in the assessment and realization of revenue were abolished.

Conquest of Chittor

In or about 1302 'Ala-ud-din sent an expedition to Warangal under the command of Fakhr-ud-din Jauna (the future Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq) and Malik Chhajju, nephew of the late Nusrat Khan. Proceeding from Karah through Bengal and Orissa the army entered Telingana and reached the neighbourhood of Warangal, but the Muslims failed in capturing this heavily fortified city. Shortly after this (29 January, 1303) the Sultan started on an expedition to Mewar. Chittor, the capital of Mewar, was situated on a hill-top and was practically invincible. When 'Ala-ud-din besieged the fortress, the Rajputs under Rana Ratan Singh put up a stiff fight and resisted all attempts at the occupation of the fortress for about seven months. At last, being hard pressed, the Rajputs sallied out and were defeated. 'Ala-ud-din appointed his son Khizr Khan to the government of Chittor and named the place Khizrabad in his honour.

New Army Regulations

The losses suffered by the Mongols in 1299 had quietened them for a while but the Sultan's preoccupation with the Chittor expedition was too tempting to be ignored. An army of 120,000 Mongols led by Targhi advanced towards the capital and encamped on the Jumna (1303). 'Ala-ud-din had just returned from Chittor and the city was ill defended and ill provided with provisions.

Before any reinforcements could reach the capital the Mongol hordes had blockaded the city. Finding himself without adequate forces the Sultan retired into the fortress of Siri and the Mongols felt free to plunder the countryside and even enter the streets of Delhi. The invaders, however, retreated after two months probably because they had not come prepared to laying a siege. The escape was so miraculous that the people attributed it to the prayers of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya.

Delhi had escaped so narrowly that the Sultan realized that his previous measures were not enough and that the army and the defences had to be further strengthened. All the old forts on the frontier were repaired and heavily garrisoned. New forts were also constructed. A large and permanent standing army was created. To ensure efficiency and discipline in the army a whole set of new army regulations were introduced. To keep his soldiers satisfied and ready for service the Sultan, ordered the payment of salaries in cash instead of by assignments of lands. He introduced two very important army reforms, namely, the preparation of a descriptive roll (*chihra*) of every soldier and the branding of horses (*dagh*) with special marks to avoid deception. The annual pay of a well-equipped cavalryman with two horses was fixed at 234 *tankas*.

The salaries of other government officials also were fixed on a modest scale. To enable all of them to live comfortably and to make the resources of the state go further he established an efficient system of price control.

Four factors are essential in a successful policy of price control. The prices must be fixed at a level that does not run counter to the economic realities of the situation. The second factor is to guarantee a continuous supply of the commodities concerned. The third factor is to regulate distribution so that the needs of the people are met but no one is able to corner the market or hoard. This brings in the fourth factor which is an efficient administration of the scheme to ensure that there are no leakages and no infringements. 'Ala-ud-din followed these principles. He first of all prepared a realistic tariff fixing the prices of all the commodities, food grains, horses, cattle, cloth etc. Peasants were ordered to sell food grains to the registered dealers at controlled rates. Money was advanced to approved dealers to enable them to purchase

goods in large quantities. All merchants were required to register themselves with the office of the superintendent of the market (*shahnah-i-mandi*) and bring their articles to the *sara'i 'adl*, the official market, where all commodities were presented for sale at controlled rates. Government assistance was given to merchants to import articles in short supply not manufactured in the Empire. The superintendent of markets and his staff kept a vigilant eye on all transactions in the market places and severe punishments were inflicted on those who violated the tariff laws. To ensure that the rules were enforced the Sultan sometimes would send his slaves to the market to make purchases. Anyone found guilty of under-weighing was given exemplary punishment. By these methods 'Ala-ud-din succeeded in keeping up supply and enforcing the price schedule. Hoarding of food grains was prohibited. Food grains and cloth were stocked in government stores to guard against famine or drought, and collection of revenue in kind was encouraged. In times of scarcity when supplies in the open market tended to decrease, the system of rationing was introduced. The results of these regulations may be briefly told. The primary aim of these regulations, namely, to keep the soldiery contented and make all commodities available for them at a comparatively low cost was largely achieved and the Sultan succeeded in maintaining a vast army of a million horse. This guaranteed security against the recurring Mongol invasions. Refractory nobles and rebellious chiefs were held in check. The cheapness of commodities made people happy and contented and bound them in gratitude to the monarch.

Barani has also recorded a conversation between the Sultan and Qazi Mughis-ud-din. The Sultan asked the Qazi what was the legal position of his administration. The Qazi objected to the expenditure of the revenue upon the maintenance of the monarch and referred to the example set by the Caliphs who took only a subsistence allowance of public funds. He also said that the *zimmis* were treated with too much consideration. He also pointed out that the troopers were given only a fifth of the booty whereas in the early days of Islam they were entitled to four-fifths. The Qazi also said that the punishments inflicted by the Sultan were too harsh. The Sultan rewarded the Qazi for his courageous criticism and said

about himself that he was a well meaning Muslim who might, through ignorance, have transgressed the law in certain matters, but who was doing his best to mould the lives of his people in accordance with the ethics of Islam.

It may be explained that the Qazi took too strict a view of the Islamic Law. The jurists had come to tolerate monarchy and its maintenance depended upon all the paraphernalia of pageantry and grandeur attached to it for the psychological impact that it made upon the people. Many jurists of Islam would not agree with Qazi Mughis-ud-din regarding the treatment of *zimmis* who have mostly been treated with consideration throughout the history of Islam. Four-fifths of the booty was given to the soldiers when they were paid no salary. The Empire was passing through a crisis because of the Mongol danger and during such periods punishment have to be harsher than in normal times.

Barani is the only authority to record the incident of Qazi Mughis-ud-din and of 'Ala-ud-din's ideal of founding a new religion. Amir Khusraw, a careful recorder of facts and a pious Muslim, nowhere even hints that the Sultan was not a devout Muslim. Indeed the picture of 'Ala-ud-din Muhammad Khalaji that emerges from comtemporary literature is that of a great monarch, the defender of the Muslim people in the subcontinent and a brilliant general and administrator who had the good of Islam at his heart.

Repulsion of the Mongols

With his adequate military preparedness 'Ala-du-din could face the Mongols with confidence. On the other hand the Mongols now appeared to be more determined in their onslaughts against the Sultanate. In 1305 some 50,000 Mongols led by Ali Beg and Tartaq crossed the Indus and avoiding the Muslim garrisons at the frontier and the capital attacked the Doab and Awadh. 'Ala-ud-din sent Malik Nayak with an army of 40,000 horse against the Mongols who were defeated near Amroha in a fierce battle. The two leaders together with large numbers of Mongols were taken captive and executed. To avenge the death of their leaders the Mongols again invaded the subcontinent in the following year. One horde under Kabak proceeded through Multan towards Ravi and another under Iqbalmand and Taibu marched towards

Nagaur. Malik Kafur together with Ghazi Malik (the future Sultan Tughluq), 'Ala-ud-din's warden of the marches at Dipalpur, advanced against the forces of Kabak and defeated them on the bank of the Ravi. After sending all prisoners of war including their leader Kabak to Delhi, Malik Kafur marched towards Nagaur and pursuing the other horde relentlessly made a vast number of them prisoners. This was the last Mongol invasion during the reign of 'Ala-ud-din.

Conquest of Malwa

In 1305 the Sultan sent his governor of Gujarat 'Ain-ul-Mulk against Malwa. The army of Malwa under Raja Mahlak and Koka Pradhana was defeated and the leaders killed. The fort of Mandu was then besieged and occupied. The cities of Ujjain, Mandu, Dhar and Chanderi also fell into the hands of the Muslims and 'Ain-ul-Mulk was allowed to add Malwa to his governorship of Gujarat. Following the conquest of Chittor as mentioned above, the Sultan's troops carried on protracted campaigns in different parts of Rajputana. These resulted in the subjugation of Siwana and Jalor.

The Deccan Campaigns

About the year 1306-7 the Sultan felt comparatively free to turn his attention to the south. Raja Ramachandra of Deogir had not only failed to pay the tribute for several years but he had also given shelter to Raja Karan of Gujarat and the latter's daughter Deval Devi. The queen Kamala Devi, who had been taken to Delhi as a prisoner and later married to 'Ala-ud-din had expressed the desire to get her daughter. In 1307 the Sultan appointed Malik Kafur to the supreme command of the army to attack Deogir. 'Ain-ul-Mulk, governor of Malwa and Alp Khan, governor of Gujarat, were asked to help him with their forces. From then on Kafur came to exercise a great influence on the affairs of the state. Kafur marched to Deogir, defeated the forces of the Yadava king Ramachandra who submitted and offered to go to Delhi to pay homage to 'Ala-ud-din. The Sultan received him with great honour, conferred on him the title of Ra'-i-Rayan and allowed him to return to Deogir to rule over his dominions as a vassal. The

Raja never forgot this generous treatment and he not only remained loyal to the Sultan but helped the Muslim army in its future operations in the south.

Although 'Ala-ud-din's first expedition to Warangal (1302-3) had been a failure, he decided to follow up his victory over Deogir by sending a fresh expedition against Warangal. Malik Naib Kafur started from Delhi in 1309 and reached Deogir whose king Ramachandra rendered all possible help to the Muslims. A Maratha force was placed at the disposal of Kafur. The fortress of Warangal was made of stone and was protected by an outer wall of mud and two deep moats surrounding the inner fort and the outer wall. When Kafur besieged the fort Raja Pratap Rudra Deva with his large army of archers and cavalry offered stout resistance. After a long siege the Muslims succeeded in making a breach in the outer mud wall and led a direct attack on the inner fort. Pratap Rudra Deva sued for peace by sending a golden image of himself with a golden chain round the neck and agreeing to pay an annual tribute. But the victor insisted on the surrender of his treasure by the Kakatiya prince. This being agreed to, a treaty was concluded. The booty included among other things 100 elephants, 7000 horses and a diamond considered by some to be the *Koh-i-Nur*. Kafur returned to Delhi "with a thousand camels groaning under the weight of treasures".

Malik Kafur was again sent against the ruler of the kingdom of Dvarasamudra. On reaching Deogir he received all help from Ramchandra. When Kafur reached the frontiers of the Hoysala kingdom a civil war between two rival claimants facilitated its conquest. Ballala, the raja prepared to withstand the attack of the Muslim armies but eventually surrendered and agreed to pay an annual tribute. Kafur gained as usual immense booty in gold, jewels, elephants and horses (26 February 1311).

With the help of Ballala, Malik Kafur proceeded to Ma'bar (Madura) where a civil war between the two brothers Vira Pandya and Sundra Pandya had just ended. The two brothers, however, made common cause and unlike other rulers who shut themselves up in their fortresses, fought the Muslims pitched battles in different parts of the difficult and impenetrable country. After occupying a few cities which were evacuated by the Pandya rulers and

gaining immense wealth, Malik Naib Kafur made a bid for Madura, the main capital of the Pandyas. This was also evacuated by the Pandyas. Large quantities of jewels, horses and elephants fell into the hands of the Muslims. Kafur then advanced as far as the southern extremity of the subcontinent and is said to have built a mosque at Rameshwaram. Malik Kafur then started the homeward march and after an arduous journey of nearly six months arrived in Delhi (October 1311) after a highly successful career of conquest. He carried along with him a haul of 1621 elephants, 20,000 horses, 96,000 maunds of gold and numerous caskets of pearls and jewels. He also brought with him a son of his ally Ballala whom 'Ala-ud-din received with honour and then sent him back to his father. 'Ala-ud-din also held a colourful reception in the Palace of the Thousand Pillars at Siri in honour of the victorious general.

The Sultan had now reached the apogee of his power and glory. His empire now embraced nearly the whole of the subcontinent from the Gangetic Doab to Rameshvaram in the south and from Sonargaon in the east to Thatta in the west.

Last days of 'Ala-ud-din Khalaji

'Ala-ud-din nominated his eldest son Khizr Khan as his heir-apparent. The marriage of the Prince with the daughter of Alp Khan, the governor of Gujarat, made this group dominant to the chagrin of Malik Kafur. He now sought permission of the Sultan to go out to Deccan to deal with Shankara, son and successor of Ramachandra, who had assumed a rebellious attitude. He first defeated Shankara, and carried raids into Telingana and Dvarasamudra. The kingdom of Madura was also attacked. Then he returned to Deogir, made it his headquarters and remained there until 1315 when the Sultan recalled him on account of his illness.

The return of Kafur to the capital gave rise to further intensification of court-intrigue in which the party of Malikah-i-Jahan and her brother Alp Khan on the one side and Kafur and his follower Kamal-ud-din Gurg on the other played a prominent part. Kafur had Alp Khan killed. Khizr Khan was imprisoned but Kamal-ud-din Gurg in his turn was killed by the followers of Alp Khan in Gujarat where Kafur had sent him. Chittor under

Hamir and Deogir under a son-in-law of Ramachandra declared their independence. Such was the situation in which the unhappy and ailing Sultan breathed his last on 5 January 1316.

Estimate of 'Ala-ud-din Khalaji

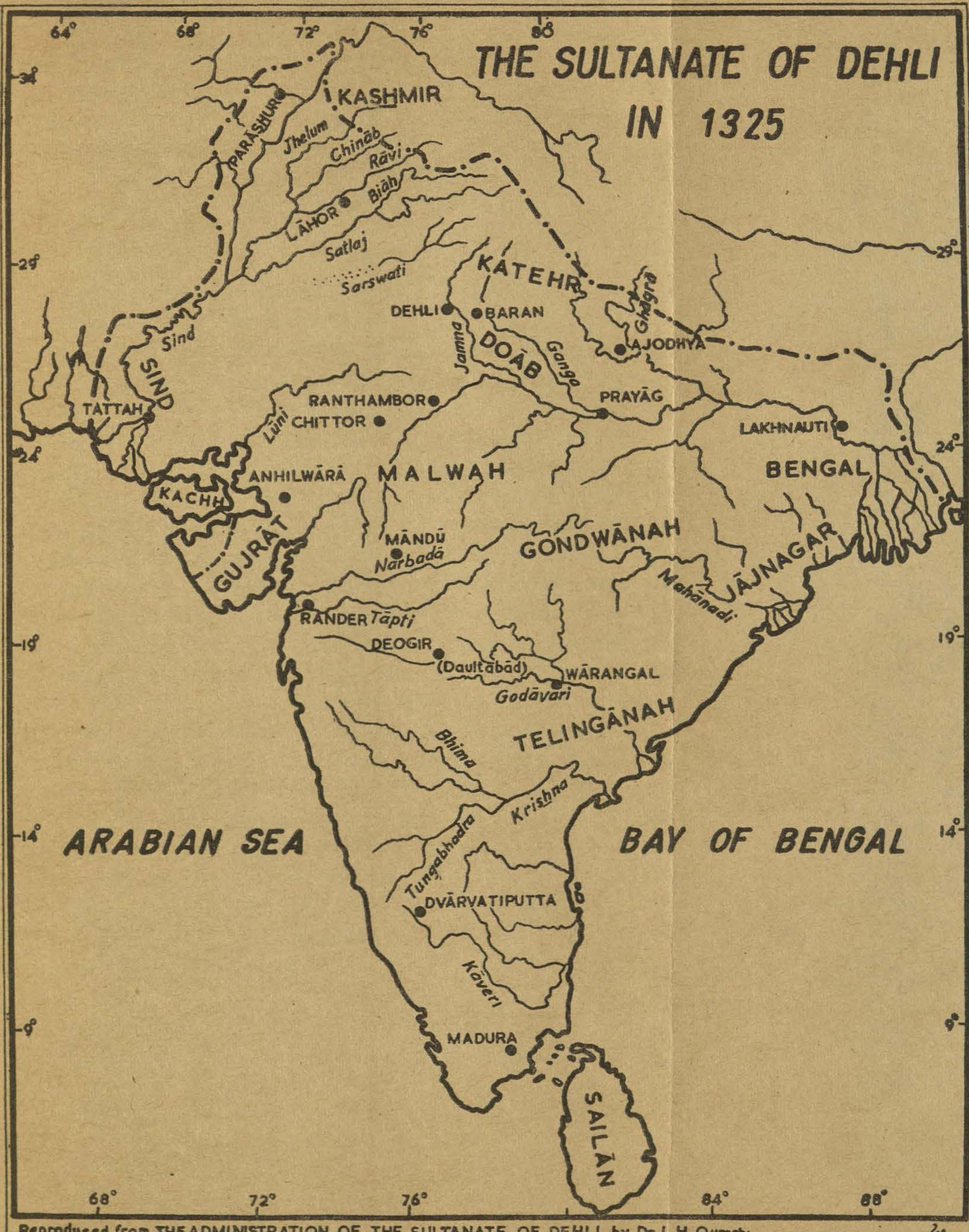
From what has been said about 'Ala-ud-din, it would be clear that he was a powerful ruler of unusual ability, boundless vigour and great ambition. He was the first ruler in the subcontinent to extend the boundaries of the Muslim Empire to its southernmost limit. As a general, a strategist and a diplomat he was unsurpassed. Although he was almost illiterate, he was brilliant in his originality of ideas and understanding of human and social problems. His military reforms, his system of price-control and his revenue arrangements bear ample testimony to his genius. During his reign Delhi became a great centre of Muslim culture. The great poets Amir Khusraw and Amir Hasan Sijzi flourished during his time.

End of the Khalaji Dynasty

The death of 'Ala-ud-din led to further intensification of rivalry between the parties of Malikah-i-Jahan and Malik Kafur in which the latter emerged victorious. He managed to produce a will of the late Sultan disinheriting Khizr Khan and nominating Shihab-ud-din 'Umar, a child of six, as his successor. The child was accordingly declared Sultan and Kafur acted as regent. A policy of exterminating the sons of 'Ala-ud-din was relentlessly pursued but the climax was reached when agents were sent to blind Mubarak Shah, the third son of 'Ala-ud-din. The prince bribed them with some jewellery and appealed to them to spare him for the sake of 'Ala-ud-din. This had the desired effect and the agents left him and rushed to the apartment of Malik Kafur and killed him.

Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah (1316-1320)

Shihab-ud-din 'Umar was deposed after two months and Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah declared himself Sultan on 19 April 1316. He proved to be worthless and gave himself up to drinking and pleasure. He left all power in the hands of a low born Hindu


THE SULTANATE OF DEHLI
IN 1325
KASHMIR
PARĀSHUR
Jhelum
Chināb
Rāvi
Biāh
LĀHOR
Satlaj
Sarswati
KATEHR
DEHLI
BARAN
Jamna
DOĀB
Ganga
Ghagra
AJODHYA
Sind
SIND
TATTAH
RANTHAMBOR
CHITTOR
Lūni
PRAYĀG
LAKHNAUTI
BENGAL
ANHILWĀRĀ
MALWAH
KACHH
GUJRĀT
MĀNDŪ
Narbadā
GONDWĀNAH
JĀJNAGAR
Mahānadi
RANDER
Tāpti
DEOGIR
(Daultābād)
WĀRANGAL
Godāvari
TELINGĀNAH
Bhima
Krishna
Tungabhadra
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
DVĀRVATIPUTTA
Kāveri
MADURA
SAILĀN
64°
68°
72°
76°
80°
84°
88°
34°
29°
24°
19°
14°
9°

2A

slave, whom the Sultan had given the title of Khusraw Khan. Khusraw undertook an expedition to the south and achieved great success against the ruler of Warangal. On his return to the capital his influence increased further and he engineered a plot to assassinate Mubarak Shah, whom he and his partisans brutally butchered on 15 April 1320. Khusraw then ascended the throne and the dynasty of the Khalajis was completely wiped out.

Nasir-ud-din Khusraw

Khusraw's actions exasperated the Muslims, for he promoted men of his own tribe, the Parwaris of Gujarat to high positions. They openly insulted Islam, defiled mosques and used copies of the Quran as pedestals for idols. Hindu religious rites were practised at the palace. These outrageous activities awakened the Muslim nobles to their responsibility. They rallied round Tughluq, generally known as Ghazi Malik because of his battle against the heathen Mongols in his capacity as the warden of the marches at Dipalpur. His son Malik Jauna, who was influential at the court and was holding the position of *akhur bek,* slipped away from Delhi and joined his father. Tughluq had meanwhile sent out appeals to the provincial amirs to join hands with him to put an end to Khusraw's iniquities. The news of his approach alarmed Khusraw, who marshalled his forces and sent an army of 40,000 strong to fight Ghazi Malik. The latter inflicted a crushing defeat on Khusraw and proceeded to Delhi. Khusraw now made a desperate bid to save the situation by marching himself at the head of a large army. He fought hard but Ghazi Malik carried everything before him and Khusraw was routed. He fled, was captured and beheaded. Ghazi Malik assembled the nobles and enquired if there was any survivor of 'Ala-ud-din's family. None being found, they appealed to Ghazi Malik to become the Sultan. He ascended the throne on 8 September 1320 with the title of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq Shah.

A SHORT READING LIST

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CHAPTER VII

The House of Tughluq

Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq (*1320-1325*)

Tughluq came into prominence in the reign of 'Ala-ud-din Khalaji but little is known about his early career or about his family. His appointment as governor of Dipalpur by Sultan 'Ala-ud-din Khalaji would lead us to infer that Ghazi Malik had already won distinction as a soldier and administrator. He is said to have claimed later that he had fought as many as twenty-nine battles on the frontier against the Mongols on account of which he had come to be called Ghazi Malik. When Mubarak Shah became Sultan, he not only confirmed Ghazi Malik in his post but also appointed his son Jauna *akhur bek* as mentioned above.

Expeditions

During the period of confusion following the death of Sultan 'Ala-ud-din Khalaji, Raja Pratap Rudra, the Kakatiya ruler of Warangal, threw off allegiance to the Delhi Sultanate and stopped payment of tribute. Tughluq sent his son Jauna Khan who had been given the title of Ulugh Khan to Warangal

in 1321-22. He proceeded by way of Deogir which had been the usual base of operations of the Muslim army in their southern expeditions. The fortress of Warangal was invested, but as the siege dragged on, the Raja sued for peace offering immense presents and an annual tribute but, before an agreement could be reached, there was some trouble in the Muslim army and the prince was forced to raise the siege and return to Delhi. Jauna, however, led a second expedition to Warangal in 1323. This time the fort capitulated and the Raja surrendered. The name of Warangal was changed to Sultanpur. After the conquest of Warangal, Jauna led an expedition to the eastern coast and attacked Jajnagar (Orissa). An inscription at Rajahmundry commemorates his erection of a mosque there which still exists. Jauna is also believed to have re-conquered the Pandya kingdom of Madura. The success of the Prince was, therefore, very spectacular and on his return to Delhi the Sultan held great rejoicings in his honour.

While the rejoicings were still in progress a fresh wave of Mongols burst upon the subcontinent and invaded Samana. The Sultan sent an army which in two successive battles defeated and repulsed the Mongols. Two months later a Parwari revolt in Gujarat was suppressed.

Bengal

The Sultan then turned his attention to Bengal which had been practically independent since the death of Balban. The ruler Shams-ud-din Firuz, having died in 1322, was succeeded by Ghiyas-ud-din Bahadur Shah. But his accession was opposed by Nasir-ud-din Ibrahim. Taking advantage of this situation, the Sultan proceeded towards Bengal with an army, leaving the crown-prince Ulugh Khan in charge of the administration of Delhi.

The campaign was successful. Ghiyas-ud-din Bahadur Shah was defeated and was taken to Delhi as a prisoner. Nasir-ud-din Ibrahim was entrusted with the government of Northern Bengal with its capital at Lakhnauti. The southern and eastern Bengal with their capital cities of Satgaon and Sonargaon were annexed and placed under Tughluq's adopted son Bahram Khan.

Death of Tughluq

After the successful completion of the Bengal expedition the Sultan advanced to Tirhut (northern Bihar). The Raja was defeated and one Ahmad Khan was appointed governor. From Tirhut the Sultan came back to the capital. Jauna went out of Delhi to receive his father near Afghanpur. A wooden structure was built within three days under the supervision of the royal architect Ahmad bin Ayaz. The Sultan stopped at this place for lunch after which there was a display of elephants. The pavilion fell down killing the Sultan along with five or six other persons (1325). Ibn Battutah who was prejudiced against Jauna (Muhammad bin Tughluq) says that the pavilion was specially built to fall down and that Jauna was a patricide. Barani, who also was hostile to Jauna, calls the mishap an accident. This seems to be the correct view because it is difficult to believe that a structure could have been so built as to collapse at a moment when only the Sultan and five or six persons were in it.

Administration

A valiant fighter throughout his life, Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq acquitted himself most honourably and successfully as a Sultan during his short reign of five years. His administration was based on principles of justice and moderation. At his accession he found the treasury almost depleted because of an indiscriminate distribution of money by Khusraw to win partisans for himself. The Sultan reduced the state demand on agricultural produce and prohibited farming out of revenue to speculators which evil seems to have crept into the administration during the inept rule of Mubarak Shah and the chaotic conditions after his death. The Sultan showed deep interest in the well-being of his subjects. He was a pious and God-fearing Muslim and was regular in performing his religious duties. His private life was free from all blemishes. He built the fort of Tughluqabad and several other magnificent buildings including his own tomb.

Muhammad bin Tughluq (1325-1351)

Muhammad bin Tughluq ascended the throne three days after the death of his father (February or March 1325). After

forty days, he proceeded to Delhi and held the coronation at the palace of the late Sultan. The city was gaily decorated and flowers were scattered in the streets. Money was thrown among the people and officers received gifts.

Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign falls into two parts. The first part (1325-1335) was a period of peace and prosperity, while the second (1335-1351) witnessed numerous rebellions and disturbances.

Early in his reign, Muhammad bin Tughluq had to deal with the rebellion of his cousin Baha-ud-din Gurshasp, governor of Sagar, near Gulbarga in the Deccan. He was defeated and took shelter with his family and treasure with the Hindu raja of Kampili. The Sultan sent an army against Kampiladeva, the ruler of Kampili, who was killed in fighting. Gurshasp, however, took shelter with the Hoysala king Ballala of Dvarasamudra. As the Muslim army proceeded towards the Hoysala capital, Ballala surrendered the rebel, who was taken to Delhi where he was flayed alive. These campaigns in the Deccan had far-reaching consequences and the boundaries of the Delhi Sultanate were extended to the southernmost limit of the subcontinent. The policy of annexation in the south as pursued by Muhammad bin Tughluq as a crown-prince was thus brought to a successful conclusion.

A Second Metropolis

When the Sultan went to Deogir during Gurshasp's rebellion he was pleased with the geographical and strategic situation of the city. In view of the expansion of the empire to the south it was necessary to have a Muslim centre and seat of power in that area. The Muslim hold upon South India would remain uncertain without a Muslim metropolis to control it. He, therefore, built a new fort and planted a Muslim colony around it calling it Daulatabad. In 1326-27 the Sultan decided to shift part of the Muslim population of Delhi to Daulatabad. In particular he transferred many officials. Besides, some leading theologians and sufis were asked to go to the new city to settle down there. Many officers, theologians, sufis, government servants, soldiers and artisans were required to migrate. Every convenience

was provided to them. The Sultan purchased their Delhi houses and paid full prices. The Sultan himself went to Daulatabad to see that the city was well established and his generosity attracted the learned and pious to the new capital, which he adorned with new buildings. But despite royal patronage and encouragement the transfer involved much hardship and suffering and many are said to have died on the way and many emigrants failed to feel at home in their new environment and yearned for a return to Delhi. The Sultan came back to Delhi and permitted such as wanted to go back to do so (1337). The expenses of the journey were again provided by the state. Two or three caravans started for Delhi. Those who found the climate of Deogir suitable stayed back. There is evidence to show that all the people of Delhi were not transferred and that the Sultan never wanted to abandon Delhi as a capital. He only intended to develop Daulatabad as a second metropolis and Delhi remained the principal capital. Consequently Muslim strength in the Deccan increased and when the empire disintegrated, a Muslim State arose there under the Bahmani dynasty with Daulatabad as its capital. It remained under Muslim sway until India annexed the Nizam's dominion.

The Sultan's project to build up Daulatabad as a sister metropolis was actively opposed by many who were affected. The rebellion of Bahram Aiba, surnamed Kishlu Khan, who was the governor of Uchh, Sind and Multan was a direct result of this opposition. Kishlu Khan refused to obey the orders of the Sultan requiring him to move with his family to Daulatabad. He gathered a large army but the Sultan advanced from Daulatabad, and defeated and killed him (1327-8). It also seems to have encouraged an invasion by the Mongols under their leader Tarmashirin of Transoxiana. He marched with a huge army through Lamghan and Multan and proceeded towards Delhi. But the invaders rapidly retraced their steps when Sultan Muhammad pursued them as far as Kalanaur.

Khurasan

Soon after Tarmashirin's departure the Sultan was encouraged by some Khurasani nobles to undertake the ambitious project of conquering Khurasan. The condition of Iran under the rule of

a young degenerate ruler named Abu Sa'id and the international political situation favoured such an idea. Taking advantage of the weakness of the boy king, Tarmashirin Khan, ruler of Transoxiana and an-Nasir, the ruler of Egypt, threatened respectively the eastern and the western frontiers of the Persian Empire. Sultan Muhammad cultivated friendly relations with both the rulers of Transoxiana and of Egypt. He also collected a large army of 370,000 men for the purpose of invading Khurasan. But the Khurasan expedition did never materialise because of the changed political situation and the dissolution of the triple alliance. Friendly relations were soon re-established between the ruler of Persia and of Egypt. Tarmashirin was deposed in his country by rebellious nobles. Even Sultan Muhammad is said to have sought the friendship of Abu Sa'id subsequently. But the army raised for the Khurasan expedition created a great problem for the Sultan. For a whole year (1328) the vast army was supported and maintained by the state. Further maintenance was impossible because the burden on the treasury was too great. When disbandment did come it caused discontent and rebellion.

Qarachal Expedition

The Sultan wanted to conquer the mountainous region in the north, which was inhabited by refractory tribesmen. The army marched successfully into the mountains (1328), but when the rains came the communications were disrupted. It was not possible to obtain supplies and the army had to be withdrawn. The tribes harassed the army and hurled blocks of stones from the mountain tops on to the retreating troops in the valley. Almost the entire army was destroyed. A small number survived and returned only to be reprimanded by the Sultan for their lack of foresight in leaving control of the communication. However, the mountain-chief subsequently agreed to pay tribute to the Sultan.

Relations with China

The establishment of Sultan's authority over the mountainous region of Qarachal between China and the subcontinent led

to a friendly overture on the part of the Chinese Mongol emperor who sent an embassy in 1341 to the court of Muhammad bin Tughluq seeking permission to rebuild the Buddhist temples in the Qarachal region. The Chinese mission brought valuable presents for the Sultan. The Sultan reciprocated by sending Ibn Battutah as an envoy to the Chinese emperor with rich gifts and presents, but the delegation never reached China.

Token Currency

Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq has won the epithet 'the prince of moneyers' because of the purity and excellence of his coins. His most original and daring action was the introduction of token currency (1330). Although the Sultan had immense quantities of gold in his treasury, there was acute shortage of silver and coins of silver mixed with baser metals had been successfully introduced and were in circulation. Gradually the quantity of silver had become nominal. This encouraged the Sultan to introduce coins of baser metal with the face value of silver coins. He was encouraged by the experiments of token currency in China and Iran. The experiment in paper currency had been a success in China. The use of paper as the medium of currency was not possible in the subcontinent. An attempt to imitate this system in Persia had ended in a disastrous failure. The Sultan felt encouraged by the Chinese success, but the Persian failure prompted him to make a novel experiment with copper. His experiment with debasing the silver currency to an extent that its real value was not even a fraction of its face value had also encouraged him. He issued copper token coins and made them legal tender for the silver *tankah* of 140 grains. Although successful at first, the measure ended in complete failure. These copper tokens were legal tender along with the usual gold and silver coins. There were also an abundant number of coins of copper already in circulation. Counterfeit coins soon flooded the market. This led to the anomaly that while people made payment of revenue in token currency they refused to accept copper tokens in payment of their goods. There was no attempt on the part of the government to prevent forgery. As Barani points out in his characteristic fashion, the house of every Hindu was turned into a mint and

every goldsmith began to strike copper coins in his house. The general mass of people were conservative and they considered copper as copper. There was still no tradition in the subcontinent of the use of token currency. The combination of all these causes led to a complete deadlock in the payment situation. When the Sultan realised that the scheme was impracticable he announced his desire to give in exchange gold and silver coins for these copper tokens. "So many of these copper tokens were brought to the treasury that heaps of them rose up in Tughluqabad like mountains. Great sums went out of the treasury in exchange for the copper and a great deficiency was caused".

Taxation in the Doab

Although the Sultan had inherited from his father a vast treasury the cumulative effect of the migration to and from Daulatabad, the heavy expenditure on the Khurasan and Qarachal expeditions and the failure of the token currency seriously affected the finances of the state. In order to replenish his treasury and also to chastise the rebellious propulation of the Doab, the Sultan enhanced the land tax in the region by five to ten per cent. The tax imposed by the Sultan was not heavy and the people suffered more because of drought and famine rather than from heavy taxation. A large number of the people had been enlisted for the Khurasan expedition. After disbandment they were already discontented. The tax-collectors who rigorously enforced the new taxes during the time of the famine met with defiance and some of them were even killed by the cultivators. The Sultan sent his officers to deal with the rebellion but they were unsuccessful. The Sultan then punished the rebels over the whole area from Baran to Dalmau. This, according to Dr. Mahdi Husain, decidedly marked the beginning of the great disorders of the realm.

Rebellions

The year 1335 is the dividing line between the two periods of the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq of which the first period is generally regarded as peaceful and prosperous. While rebellions and disturbances during this period were sporadic and individual and were thus easily suppressed by the Sultan, the second period

of his reign (1335-1351) witnessed a series of uprisings which were widespread throughout his entire dominions. The causes of these revolts were varied and complex. Heavy financial losses caused by various projects and schemes of conquest, the consequential additional levies and drought and famine embittered the people against the Sultan, who became more and more severe in his treatment. Rebellion after rebellion broke out, enemies multiplied and troubles became numerous. From north to south, from east to west, Muslims and Hindus, instigated by the governors of provinces, raised the standard of revolt. There were as many as fifteen revolts during the second period of the Sultan's reign. In addition to the contributory factors mentioned above there was another important factor responsible for the unrest in the empire. The Sultan fell under the influence of philosophers, free-thinkers and Hindu *yogis*, which was not liked by the orthodox among the Muslims. Many theologians and sufis had resisted the transfer to Daulatabad. This built up a hostility between the Sultan and influential leaders of religious opinion who had considerable influence over the army officers and men. Barani's accusation that the Sultan executed many *'ulama*, *masha'ikh*, *saiyids*, *sufis*, *qalandars*, clerks and army men is corroborated by Ibn Battutah. This conflict provides an adequate explanation for the numerous uprisings of the Muslims against the Sultan. Taking advantage of the situation the Hindus also made a desperate bid to reassert their independence.

Revolt in Ma'bar

The first of this series of revolts was that of Saiyid Ahsan Shah in Ma'bar, the southernmost province of the empire, in 1334-5. The army sent from Delhi to recover Ma'bar remained there. Presumably the soldiers were won over by Ahsan Shah. The Sultan, who was still busy in the Doab, went to Delhi and proceeded to the south by way of Deogir and Telingana. At Daulatabad the Sultan levied new taxes and made such heavy demands that it created grave resentment. Just at that time a severe famine broke out in Delhi and Malwa. There was a cholera epidemic at Telingana and the troops of the Sultan died in large numbers. The Sultan was himself attacked and it was rumoured

that he had died. The Sultan in despair abandoned the Ma'bar expedition and returned to Delhi. Saiyid Ahsan Shah declared himself independent and laid the foundation of the Sultanate of Madura. This Sultanate, however, did not last long, because it was isolated and too weak to resist Hindu pressure.

Establishment of the Kingdom of Vijayanagar

Taking advantage of the widespread discontent in the Empire the Hindus in Telingana, Andhra and the country to the south of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra organised a Hindu movement to free the area from Muslim domination. Started under the leadership of one Kapaya Nayaka, the movement was carried on by Krishna Nayaka who organised a league of seventy-five Hindu chiefs of the south. The Hoysala king Vir Ballala III whole-heartedly supported him by providing him with troops. Krishna Nayaka invaded Telingana and Malik Maqbul, a Hindu convert to Islam who was in charge of Telingana, fled from the country. Over Kampili Muhammad bin Tughluq had appointed Harihara and Bukka, the two brothers who embraced Islam, as governor and deputy-governor. But under the influence of a Hindu sage Vidyaranya they renounced Islam. Harihara founded the new city of Vijayanagar on the Tungabhadra and was crowned king in 1336.

Thus rebellion against the central authority paved the way for the liquidation of Muslim authority in the south.

Bengal

During the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq the province of Bengal also passed through many vicissitudes till it became completely independent of the Delhi Sultanate. Early in his reign the Sultan had made important administrative rearrangements by dividing Bengal into three administrative units and appointing Qadr Khan over Lakhnauti, A'zam-ul-Mulk over Satgaon and Ghiyas-ud-din Bahadur (whom he released from confinement) and Bahram Khan over Sonargaon. Soon Ghiyas-ud-din Bahadur rebelled and Bahram Khan fought against him and was killed. After the death of Bahram Khan his armour-bearer Fakhr-ud-din declared himself independent

at Sonargaon (1338). In Lakhnauti Haji Ilyas declared himself independent, under the title of Shams-ud-din Ilyas Shah (1342).

Other rebellions

The severity of famine in and around Delhi compelled the Sultan to remove his family and court to a hastily constructed temporary town called Swargdwari in the riverain tract of the Ganges not far from Qanauj for obtaining supplies of food and provisions from the fertile area of Karah and Awadh. He stayed here for a period of two and a half years (1338-1341) during which he had to deal with several rebellions, namely those of Nizam Mian at Karah, Nusrat Khan at Bidar, 'Ali Shah at Gulbarga and 'Ain-ul-Mulk in Awadh. The latter was an able governor and a wise statesman under whose administration Awadh had enjoyed peace and prosperity. But unfortunately the Sultan decided to transfer him to Daulatabad. 'Ain-ul-Mulk disobeyed and marched against the Sultan with a large army but was defeated and pardoned in recognition of his past services.

Recognition by the Abbasid Caliph

Reference has already been made to the hostility of the *'ulama* and the Sultan's ruthless persecution of them. In view of the universal opposition to his rule the Sultan,to make his sovereignty acceptable to the people and also to silence the opposition of the *'ulama* turned to the Abbasid Caliph al-Mustakfi billah of Egypt seeking recognition of his authority. From Swargdwari he sent despatches to Egypt and after his return to Delhi he received an envoy from the Caliph who sent him a robe of honour and a *manshur* (1343-4). In the coins and in the *khutbah* the Sultan acknowledged the suzerainty of the Caliph.

Attempted Agrarian Reforms

The Sultan also thought of bringing back prosperity to areas devastated by famine and rebellion. He organized the department of *amir-i-kuhi* for developing agricultural facilities. However, the attempt failed because the Sultan appointed men of no worth who made impracticable promises. All the money advanced to them was embezzled or lost and brought no gains to the

public or the government.

Disturbances in Deogir and Gujarat

The removal in particular of Qutlugh Khan from the governorship of Deogir caused great resentment. The appointment of 'Aziz Khammar as governor of Malwa and Dhar was another fatal step. He massacred a large body of minor nobles, *amiran-i-sadah* (commanders of a hundred soldiers). The Sultan praised 'Aziz Khammar for his action, because he had come to believe that the *amiran-i-sadah* were at the root of all trouble. As a result the *amiran-i-sadah* of Deogir and Gujarat rebelled. The Sultan proceeded to Gujarat to punish the rebellious amirs there. After a severe battle in which they were defeated with heavy casualties, the rebels fled to Deogir. The Sultan was encamped at Broach and sent orders to Deogir asking the new governor 'Ain-ul-Mulk to send fifteen hundred horsemen. They accordingly started for Broach but their leaders, suspecting treachery, revolted. They killed the royal escort, returned to Daulatabad, captured the treasury and declared one of their leaders Malik 'Ismail Makh as sultan. The Sultan marched towards Daulatabad and reestablished his authority there but he had to leave for Gujarat on receiving the news of the rebellion of Taghi. The amirs again mustered strong and reoccupying Daulatabad declared Hasan, a young warrior-leader (in place of 'Ismail Makh) as sultan. Hasan took the title of 'Ala-ud-din Abul Muzaffar Bahman Shah on 13 August 1347, and laid the foundation of the Bahmani Kingdom.

Death

Although some of the measures of the Sultan were laudable and the sincerity of his purpose cannot be doubted, it was a great political blunder on his part to have removed the old and experienced officials. The revolt of Taghi, originally a Turkish slave, was supported by the Hindu Chiefs and the *amiran-i-sadah* in Gujarat. Taghi killed the governor and deputy-governor of Gujarat and with a large number of followers, both Hindu and Muslim, besieged the fort of Broach. To suppress the rebellion the Sultan left Daulatabad and started for Gujarat. On the way

the Sultan met the historian Barani and asked him as to what course a king of the past would have followed in the face of such a situation. Barani pointed out to him that different kings behaved differently: some abdicated in favour of their sons, others entrusted the affairs of the state to their ministers. The Sultan, however, expressed his firm determination to suppress the rebellions by the sword. The Sultan then pursued Taghi from Broach to Cambay, from Cambay to Asawal, and Patan. At last he defeated Taghi who fled and sought shelter with the Sumras of Sind. The Sultan then proceeded to Thatta in pursuit of Taghi but he was attacked by fever and died at a place within fourteen *kroh* of Thatta on 20 March 1351. Thus died the unlucky monarch who was undoubtedly one of the most outstanding personalities that adorned the throne of Delhi. He extended the boundaries of the Delhi Sultanate to its farthest limits and yet at his death all territories to the south of theVindhyas were lost. He struggled hard and worked to the best of his ability to provide peace and prosperity to his great realm, but circumstances over which he had little or no control brought forth incalculable misery to his people who turned against him in increasing numbers as years rolled by.

Character

Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq had many qualities of head and heart. He was a very learned man well versed in logic, astronomy, mathematics, philosophy and physical sciences. He was conversant with the medical science which he also practised. He was a good calligraphist. He also wrote good Persian prose as well as poetry. Barani calls him the wonder of creation. His personal life was blameless and he was free from the common vices of mankind. His munificence and liberality won him the admiration of his contemporaries. He made lavish grants to the nobles as well as to men of learning and piety. He discouraged beggary and made provisions for the maintenance of the poor, the needy, the widows and the orphans at public expense. He also established hospitals for the sick. The Sultan adopted a liberal policy towards the non-Muslims. He freely mixed with the Hindu *yogis* and Jain philosophers. A *farman* of Muhammad bin

Tughluq recently discovered announces certain rewards for a Hindu community by the Sultan. At the same time the Sultan tried to stop the cruel custom of *sati*. Muhammad bin Tughluq was a man of brilliant ideas but he had little capacity for their practical implementation. He was so carried away by his enthusiasm that he forgot to ensure the success of his projects by providing safeguards against sometimes obvious difficulties. For instance, he should have foreseen the danger of counterfeit coins coming into circulation when he introduced token currency. The Sultan's other great failing was his harshness. He did not understand human weakness. In his opinion if a measure was good, no one had any business to oppose it. And if any one opposed a measure, he had to be punished. He knew no moderation, nor the art of soothing people's feelings when they felt aggrieved, because he had no understanding of human psychology. His strict logic was his undoing. To his mind, lack of cooperation was contumacy which was rebellion and therefore to be punished. He was learned and brilliant but he lacked a sense of realism and an understanding of human nature. The result was that all his efforts met with failure and when he died in the theatre of a war of his own creation, the noble edifice of the Muslim empire in the subcontinent had developed irreparable cracks and seemed to be on the verge of collapse.

Firuz Shah (*1351-1388*)

The death of Muhammad bin Tughluq created confusion in the army which was left without a leader. The late Sultan had employed Mongol merceneries to help him suppress the rebellion. They plundered the imperial camp and started for Delhi. The military officers and religious leaders in the imperial camp decided to elect Firuz, son of Rajab, cousin of the late Sultan, to the throne. Although Firuz hesitated they crowned him Sultan on 23 March 1351. Sultan Muhammad's sister Khudawandzadah put forward her son as a candidate but the nobles rejected his candidature. Khwaja Jahan, wazir of the late Sultan, raised to the throne a child about whom he claimed that he was a son of Sultan Muhammad but he received no support. He subsequently submitted to Firuz who pardoned him but the nobles prevailed upon the Sultan to dismiss Khwaja Jahan. Later he was executed. The formal corona-

tion of Sultan Firuz was celebrated on 25 August 1351 in Delhi.

Early Administrative Measures

The Sultan realized that the people had to be pacified and given a respite from wars, rebellions and disturbances. He took a number of steps in this direction. An amount of two crore *tankas* advanced to peasants by the late Sultan Muhammad was written off. An annual amount of thirty-six lakh *tankas* was granted as allowance to the *'ulama* and the *masha'ikh* to encourage learning and piety. A sum of one crore *tankas* was granted in pensions and gifts to the poor and the needy. Mercy, kindness, forbearance and conciliation were accepted as the guiding principles of his government. Compensation was given to the heirs of those who had been executed during the previous regime and letters of forgiveness were obtained from them. All these measures had the desired effect. The people were reconciled to the government and enjoyed peace and tranquillity for the first time in several years. Stability in the political situation and resumption of normal activities brought down the prices of commodities. All extra legal taxes were remitted and a new assessment of land revenue was undertaken on the basis of thorough inspection and investigation. The following quotation from *Futuhat-i-Firuz Shahi* is interesting in this connection:

Better a people's weal than treasures vast.
Better an empty chest than hearts downcast.

Firuz Shah's wise administration resulted in such increase of production that it was no longer necessary to control prices, which, however, remained low despite the absence of any government interference.

Bengal Expeditions

In 1353 Firuz Shah led an expedition to Bengal where Haji Ilyas had assumed independence under the title of Shams-ud-din Ilyas Shah. At the approach of the imperial army Ilyas Shah evacuated Pandua, the capital city, and entrenched himself in a fort called Ekdala protected by rivers and jungles. After a brief siege the Sultan withdrew but as Ilyas Shah sallied forth from the fortress, the royal army inflicted a crushing defeat on him. But

as the rainy reason was near Firuz concluded a treaty with Ilyas Shah depriving the latter of his conquests west of Lakhnauti but confirming him in his possessions in Bengal. On his return to the capital Firuz Shah laid the foundation of the city of Firuzabad on the bank of the Jumna.

Next year Ilyas Shah sent rich presents. Firuz Shah reciprocated by sending an envoy who, however, was recalled because of the death of Ilyas. During the reign of his successor Sikandar, Firuz Shah led another expedition to Bengal. He founded *en route* a new city on the Gumti which he called Jaunpur after his cousin, the late Sultan Muhammad, whose original name was Jauna Khan and finally reached Bengal in 1359. Sultan Sikandar took the fortress of Ekdala, which Firuz Shah besieged. Firuz did not like to force the issue for he was certain that the defence would be stiff and the fort could not be taken without great loss of Muslim lives. Therefore he negotiated a treaty with Sultan Sikandar who agreed to send some elephants to Delhi annually.

Jajnagar

On his way back from Bengal, the Sultan halted at Jaunpur from where he proceeded to Jajnagar (Orissa). With a large army he first reached Bihar and then marching through Manbhum and Singhbhum, he reached Baranasi. At the approach of the imperial army, the raja took shelter in an island. The Sultan pursued him and, on the way, the Rai's ambassadors met him and negotiated terms of peace. The Rai agreed to furnish a fixed number of elephants yearly in payment of tribute. The Sultan was highly pleased and sent robes to the Rai. Several other Hindu chieftains also submitted to the Sultan who then returned to Delhi. The return journey to Delhi lay through rough terrain and was difficult. The Sultan eventually reached Delhi in 1361.

Other Expeditions

Shortly after this the Sultan marched with his army towards Daulatabad but changed his mind and returned to Delhi. He next turned towards Nagarkot (Kangra) which had been conquered by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq in 1337 but whose chief had since rebelled. The fortress of Nagarkot was captured after a

siege of six months. The Rai waited upon the Sultan with rich presents and again acknowledged his suzerainty. The capital city of Nagarkot was named Muhammadabad in honour of Sultan Muhammad as he had conquered it earlier. Sultan Firuz found in the vicinity of the temple of Jwalamukhi a large collection of manuscripts. One of these manuscripts was later translated into Persian for the Sultan under the title of *Dala'il-i-Firuz Shahi.* The Sultan returned to Delhi in 1362.

Conquest of Sind (*Thatta*)

Two years later Firuz Shah undertook an expedition to Thatta to punish the new Samma rulers of Sind who had replaced the Sumras. The Sammas had made inroads into the territories of Gujarat and Multan. The Sultan, therefore, set out with an army of 90,000 horse and a large fleet of boats was launched on the Indus. The Jams, Juna and Banbhaniya, defended Thatta. An epidemic broke out in the imperial camp and there was shortage of food and fodder. The Sultan decided in the circumstances to retreat to Gujarat. The retreat proved to be disastrous and after great loss in men and material the Sultan reached Gujarat. There he dismissed the governor Nizam-ul-Mulk who had failed to send reinforcements to Thatta. With reinforcements and fresh supplies the Sultan returned to Sind accompanied by the new governor of Gujarat, Zafar Khan, and encamped outside Thatta. The Sammas also arrayed a strong force and the two armies faced each other for a long time without risking a major battle. At last the Jams offered submission which was accepted because of the intercession of Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan. They acknowledged the suzerainty of the Sultan by agreeing to pay an annual tribute. Jam Juna and Banbhaniya accompanied the Sultan to his court at Delhi. But the Sultan afterwards felt extremely sorry for having undertaken the expedition and promised never to embark on such a campaign in future.

While in Gujarat in 1363 the Sultan received a deputation led by Bahram, a rival prince of the Bahmanid dynasty inviting the Sultan to annex the Deccan, but the Sultan like his predecessor preferred to suppress the rebellion in Sind and thus lost an opportunity to conquer the Bahmanid kingdom. Even later

when his officers sought his permission to march towards Daulatabad the Sultan replied with tears in his eyes that he had resolved not to make a war on fellow Muslims again.

It was not only his regard for the sanctity of Muslim lives that led Firuz to leave the Deccan alone, but also his determination to give his people good government and prosperity.

Only once in life was the Sultan roused into taking a retaliatory measure against Rai Karkhu, the Raja of Katehar (Rohilkhand), who had most treacherously murdered Saiyid Muhammad, the governor of Bada'un and his two brothers. The Sultan inflicted exemplary punishment on the rebels (1380).

Between 1370 and 1376 the Sultan suffered two great bereavements. His faithful *wazir* Khan Jahan died in 1370. The stability in the reign of Firuz and the administrative efficiency of the regime were all due to this able minister. His death left a void which could never be filled up. His son was raised to the position of *wizarat* with the same title as that of his father. But Khan Jahan II was no substitute for Khan Jahan I and the affairs of the state went from bad to worse. The Sultan also grew old and, to add to his miseries, his eldest son Fath Khan died in 1376 and this led to intrigue and rivalry which disturbed the closing years of his reign.

Recognition by the Caliph

An event of great importance for Firuz Shah was the arrival of the deed of investiture and robe of honour from the Abbasid Caliph of Egypt, al-Mu'tasid in 1356. The Caliph's letter bestowed the title of *Saif-ul-khilafah* and *Qasīm-i-amīr-ul-mu'mīnīn* on the Sultan. Al-Mutawakkil also sent letters patent to Firuz Shah (1366). The names of these caliphs appear on Firuz Shah's coins. Barani thinks that the Sultan's success was due to the caliph's recognitions.

Reforms of Firuz Shah

Firuz Shah was a lenient and benevolent ruler. He built works of public utility like colleges, hospitals and canals. He maintained an extensive system of poor relief, patronized learning and administered impartial justice. Above all he removed the causes of the disturbances and rebellions that had afflicted the people in

the previous reign. It was not easy once again to build up good government that had been disrupted before he came to the throne. These achievements won him the esteem of his contemporaries and raised him to the status of a great monarch worthy of our admiration. His main consideration was the promotion of the material well-being of his subjects, Hindus and Muslims alike. Reference has been made to his administrative, economic, agrarian and military reforms which brought about peace and prosperity in his empire. The Sultan built 50 irrigational dams, 40 mosques, 30 colleges, 20 palaces, 100 hospitals, 100 public baths, 10 monumental pillars, 10 public wells, and 150 bridges. Firuz Shah is said to have constructed five canals to remove scarcity of water. The first was a double channel to supply water to the new city of Hisar Firuzah, the head-waters of which were drawn from both the Jumna and the Sutlej. Both these channels after flowing for nearly 160 miles united together and discharged their waters into Hisar-Firuzah. The second canal ran between Sutlej and Ghaghra and was 96 miles long. A third ran through the tract between the Sirmur Hills and the town of Hansi. Two others ran respectively from the Ghaghra and the Jumna to the town of Firuzabad also built by Firuz Shah.

He founded the city of Fathabad between Hansi and Sarsuti in honour of his eldest son Fath Khan in the first year of his reign. In the second year he built Hisar Firuzah. Here he constructed a grand palace. The third town he built was Firuzabad on the bank of the Jumna; its ruins are now called Firuz Shah's Kotla. It spread over ten square miles and covered a site previously occupied by eighteen villages. The area was full of buildings and crowded with people. It had eight public mosques each large enough to accommodate 10,000 worshippers. Here on the top of a three-storied building one could see one monolithic Ashokan pillar which the Sultan carried from the village Topra in the Siwalik Hills, across a distance of 150 miles. Another Ashokan pillar was carried by the Sultan from Meerut to Delhi. Learned Brahmin scholars called by the Sultan to decipher the inscription on the pillars failed to make out the script. The Sultan also built Jaunpur and Firuzpur (near Bada'un), the last one also called in derision Akhirpur as it was the last town built by Firuz Shah. He also repaired numerous build-

ings which had fallen into decay. All these required the appointment of many artisans, engineers, supervisors and architects. The Sultan was also a lover of gardens. He renovated many old gardens of 'Ala-ud-din and laid out 1200 new gardens in and around Delhi.

Firuz Shah's charities were so wide that he established a separate department of charity (*Diwan-i-Khairat*). It included a marriage bureau, which provided needy fathers or guardians with the wherewithal to marry their daughters and wards. It also had an employment bureau supervised by the *kotwal* of Delhi. On specified days prominent citizens gathered to provide information about able-bodied persons in their respective areas who were out of employment. The *kotwal* would then have these cases processed and deserving persons were produced before the Sultan who would make provision for them according to their qualifications and ability. His hospitals employed expert physicians, surgeons and eye specialists who treated the patients free of charge. They were also given medicines without having to pay for them.

Firuz was a great patron of learning. Himself an accomplished scholar, he apportioned thirty-six lakh *tankas*, as already mentioned, to be spent as allowances on learned men and men of piety. He established thirty colleges, of which the *Firuz Shahi Madrasah* of Firuzabad was the most prominent. One can still see some of the buildings of his other great college beautifully located in the middle of a large artificial lake, Hauz Khas near New Delhi. These colleges had some very eminent professors. Firuz was fond of history. Barani, 'Afif and other historians flourished under his patronage. Although a champion of orthodox Islam, Firuz Shah ordered a book dealing with Hindu philosophy and astrology to be translated into Persian under the title *Dala'il-i-Firuz Shahi*.

During the anarchic conditions in the last reign many Hindu chiefs and peasants had taken to brigandage. They had to be suppressed by force and many were captured while fighting. They were not executed or imprisoned. However, they lost their free status and became slaves. The humane and liberal treatment of those slaves and their elevation to important positions speak highly of the Sultan's large heartedness. The Sultan ordered the governors and officers in the provinces to send the best among them to the royal court. They were then educated or trained in various arts and

crafts; some of them joined the army. Their number rose to 180,000. Of them 12,000 worked as artisans, and 40,000 worked as royal guards, while others performed sundry duties as domestic servants. Some learnt the Quran by heart and others became scholars and teachers. Their case was entrusted to a department called *Diwan-i-Bandagan* with a staff and a treasury. Some of these slaves rose very high in the service of the state.

Death

The closing years of the reign of Sultan Firuz were unhappy. His capacity for work and his power to take decisions were impaired by old age and the affairs of the state were left in the hands of Khan Jahan II who, having consolidated his power, began to cast covetous eyes on the throne. He tried to embitter the feelings of the Sultan against his only surviving son, Muhammad Khan who, however, took prompt action against Khan Jahan. The latter fled to Mewat from where he was hunted out and executed. On 22 August 1387 Firuz Shah held a *darbar*, gave his son the title of Muhammad Shah and practically abdicated in his favour, although coins were struck jointly in the names of the father and the son. During the period of thirteen months after the event, the Sultan witnessed a confused civil war and the nobles once more brought out the old Sultan into public. He was so highly respected that his presence had a magical effect on the hostile parties. Muhammad, having become unpopular with the soldiers, Firuz nominated his grandson Ghiyas-ud-din, son of Fath Khan, as Sultan. Firuz, an octogenarian, died on 20 September 1388.

Character

Sultan Firuz Shah was a pious and benevolent monarch. Coming at a time of widespread discontent and disturbances resulting in chaos in the realm, he enunciated policies and inaugurated measures which satisfied the people and made his regime popular. All his measures sprang from two main considerations, namely, the welfare of his people and the glorification of Islam. His mild administration, his works of public utility, and his care of the needy and the poor provide adequate proof of his concern for his subjects. But some of his measures have come in for criticism.

He often went too far in his efforts for conciliation. The soldiers were mostly paid in the form of assignments, not cash, and care was not taken to ensure resumption of the assignment if the soldier was lax in following the rules of service. He was too kind and forgiving to impose strict discipline. Indeed, his generosity sometimes led him to condone serious offences. The story of a defaulting soldier seeking the help of the Sultan in his predicament for not being able to present his horse for inspection on due date and the Sultan giving him a *tankah* to bribe the clerk to get a false certificate sounds too strange to be true, but it shows how far the Sultan's misplaced generosity could go in violating canons of administrative efficiency. The Sultan was a pious and orthodox monarch. He imposed *jiziyah* for the first time upon Brahmins who had been exempted by the earlier rulers. He inflicted a harsh punishment on a Brahmin for enticing simple Muslims away from their faith. He also took measures against the missionary efforts of some unorthodox sects of Islam.

Successors of Firuz Shah and Timur's Invasion

The death of Firuz Shah was a signal for a confused civil war which did not stop until the last king of the House of Tughluq died in 1412. The history of this quarter of a century is replete with fighting in which the officials and the slaves of the household fought against one another to estabish their own supremacy while the princes served as mere pawns in their hands. This fighting is of little interest beyond demonstrating that the failure of the officers to unite in supporting a good candidate led to the weakening of the dynasty to an extent that at one time there were two sultans in the capital, one in the old city and the other in Firuzabad.

Invasion of Timur (1398-99)

Timur, a Chaghatai Turk, rose from a humble position to be the ruler of a vast empire embracing Transoxiana, a part of Turkistan, Afghanistan, Persia, Syria, Kurdistan and a major part of Asia Minor. After establishing his sway to the north of the Hindu Kush he turned his attention towards the south when anarchical conditions in the subcontinent encouraged him to invade it. The vanguard of his army which consisted of thirty thousand horse and

CHAPTER VIII

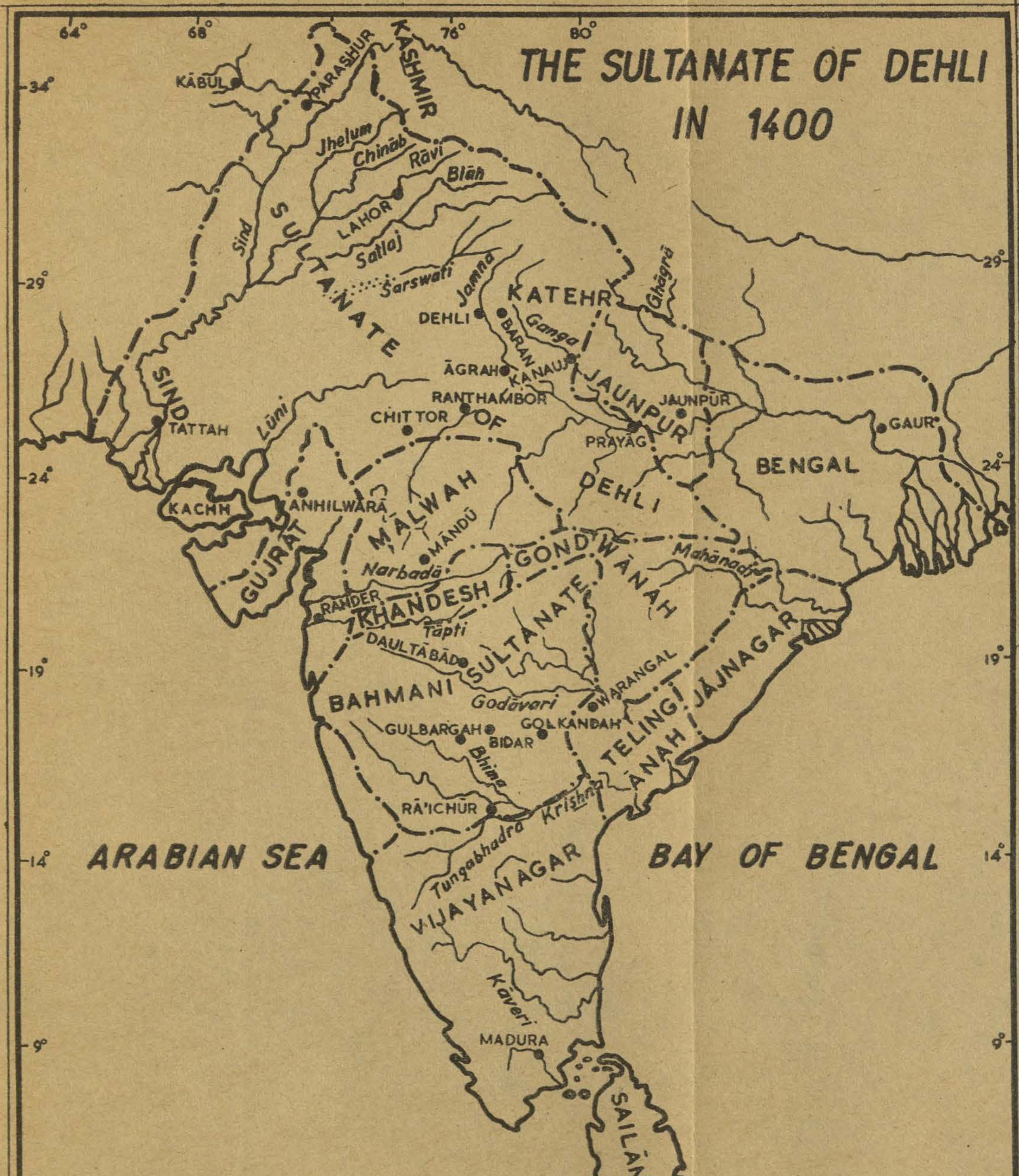
The Saiyids

Khizr Khan (1414-1421)

Khizr Khan, the founder of the Saiyid dynasty, claimed descent from the Prophet. He threw in his lot with Timur, who appointed him his governor of Multan, Dipalpur and Lahore.

Although Khizr attained sovereign power, he preferred to rule first in the name of Timur and then of his successor Shah Rukh. The Sultanate was now reduced to Sind and the Panjab regions of West Pakistan and western Uttar Pradesh of India. Numerous other states, independent of and antagonistic to the Sultanate, grew up all around. These fall into four groups. The first group consisted of the Hindu states of Rajputana with the ruler of Mewar as their leader. The Muslim states of Gujarat and Malwa comprised the second group. The third group comprised the southern states, the Bahmani and Vijayanagar kingdoms. The fourth group consisted of the eastern states—Gondwana, Orissa, Bengal and Jaunpur.

It was not possible for Khizr Khan to undertake extensive campaigns to reclaim the former provinces of the Delhi empire. That



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was beyond his resources. But there were refractory chiefs near about Delhi and it was only natural that he should attempt to subdue them. In the year of his accession his *wazir*, Taj-ul-Mulk led a series of expeditions against the Rajput princes of Katehar and Etawah. Other expeditions were sent to Kampil, Patiali, Jalesar, Gwalior, Biyana and Mewat. These expeditions met with temporary success but failed to produce any permanent results.

From Gwalior Khizr proceeded to Etawah to realise the tribute from the new Ra'i. He fell ill in one of his expeditions and on his return to Delhi he died on 20 May 1421.

Khizr Khan had to deal with a difficult situation and he achieved modest success by bringing an area within a radius of roughly two hundred miles from Delhi under his control.

Mubarak Shah (1421-1434)

Khizr Khan was succeeded by his son Mubarak Shah, who unlike his father assumed full regal titles and had the *khutbah* read in his name. His reign was full of series of rebellions and heroic efforts on the part of the monarch to suppress them. The Khokhars were the real cause of trouble in the Panjab though they were often helped by others. Ultimately Mubarak Shah succeeded in defeating the rebels.

There were frequent rebellions in Mewat also but time and again Mubarak Shah brought the area under his control. Expeditions were also sent against the rulers of Katehar, Etawah and Gwalior and tribute realised from them.

The Sultan fell a victim to a conspiracy engineered by his *wazir* Sarwar-ul-Mulk, originally a convert from Hinduism. He failed to conduct the administration efficiently but the Sultan did not like to antagonise him by dismissing him outright. He entrusted to another officer all matters relating to revenue leaving the *wazir* in charge of political affairs alone. This made Sarwar furious and he decided to take the life of his sovereign. When the Sultan went to visit the newly founded city of Mubarak-abad on the bank of the Jumna, the conspirators seized the opportunity to strike the Sultan as he was entering the mosque for Friday prayers. Two accomplices of the *wazir*, Sidh Pal and Ranu, scions of two khatri families of Delhi, who had enjoyed royal favour for

a long time, murdered the Sultan in a ghastly and treacherous manner on 19 February 1434.

Mubarak proved to be the ablest of the kings of the House of Khizr. Although he did not add to the paternal possessions he certainly asserted his authority more effectively and brought the Panjab and western Uttar Pradesh under effective control.

Muhammad Shah (1434-44)

Mubarak Shah was succeeded by his nephew Muhammad Shah. He was a helpless witness of the fight between Sarwar and Kamal resulting in the former's death. The administration was disorganised and witnessed a sickening quarrel between Sarwar-ul-Mulk, the *wazir* and his opponent Kamal-ul-Mulk who was determined to oust the *wazir* from his privileged position. The *wazir*, however, antagonised the Sultan and this led to his downfall. Sarwar and his followers were seized and disorders and rebellions broke out every where. Mahmud Khalaji of Malwa encouraged by these conditions and being invited by a section of high officials invaded Delhi. Muhammad Shah sought help from Buhlul Lodi, the chief of Sarhind, who came with a large army. In the course of the battle, however, Muhammad Shah started negotiations for peace, but Buhlul attacked and dispersed the Khalajis. Muhammad Shah showered praise and honours on Buhlul, who, however, wanted to seize the throne. In 1443 he attacked Delhi but, failing to capture it, withdrew to Sarhind. The Sultan's authority was defied by practically every chieftain now. In the midst of these troubles, Muhammad Shah breathed his last.

'Ala-ud-din 'Alam Shah (1444-51)

He was succeeded by his son 'Ala-ud-din 'Alam Shah. The territories of the Sultanate had now shrunk within a distance of ten miles from Delhi to Palam. The whole of the Panjab was now in Buhlul's hands. He made one more abortive attempt in 1447. The indolent Sultan, thereafter, shifted his court to Bada'un in order to spare himself from constant pressure on Delhi by the Lodis. The capital was left in the charge of the *wazir*, Hamid Khan. Troubles, however, continued and Hamid Khan finally invited Buhlul to Delhi and made him the commander of the army.

Later, Buhlul got rid of Hamid Khan and himself ascended the throne in 1451. 'Alam Shah was allowed to retain Bada'un till his death in 1478.

A SHORT READING LIST

Cambridge History of India, Delhi, 1958; Chapter VIII.

CHAPTER IX

Rise of the Afghans: the Lodi Sultanate

Buhlul Lodi (*1451-1489*)

From time immemorial Afghans have been coming down from the Sulaiman ranges to the plains of cis-Indus region in search of employment or pasture or as traders. Buhlul's grand-father Bahram came to Multan early in the reign of Firuz Shah and settled in Multan where he accepted service under Malik Mardan Daulat. Bahram's son, Islam Khan Lodi, distinguished himself in the service of Khizr Khan, when the latter was governor of Multan. Khizr appointed him governor of Sarhind, which proved to be the stepping stone for the rise of the Lodis. Malik Kala, Islam's brother, was Buhlul's father. Malik Kala died early and the child Buhlul was brought by his uncle Islam Khan, who noticed signs of greatness in Buhlul and married his daughter to him. After Islam Khan's death Buhlul became governor of Sarhind. He soon increased his power and became master of the whole of the Panjab. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Saiyid rulers, Buhlul began to think of capturing the throne of Delhi. How he ultimately became the Sultan of Delhi has already been relat-

ed. His coronation was held on 19 April 1451 and he took the title of Sultan Abul Muzaffar Buhlul Shah Ghazi.

At this time his territories included only the region from Delhi to Lahore. Buhlul's task was by no means easy. The tribal dissensions of the Afghans were not conducive to the growth of monarchy. The idea of an Afghan on the throne of Delhi did not appeal to many. The Sharqis considered themselves successors to the Saiyids because of their relationship with them. Against all these odds Buhlul stood firm. He tried to build up a sure foundation for his monarchy on the support of the Afghans.

Conflict with the Sharqis

He heard with dismay that Multan, the chief centre of recruitment for Afghans from Roh, declared its independence under the Langahs. At this he left the capital in charge of his son Bayazid, and marched to Multan in 1451 to reestablish his authority.

Buhlul's absence from Delhi provided for Mahmud Sharqi a good opportunity to press his claim to the throne of Delhi. He was encouraged by an open invitation from a section of the nobility at the capital. His wife, a Saiyid princess, also instigated him to capture Delhi. He arrived at Delhi with a large army in 1452. Buhlul's mother-in-law Bibi Matto dressed the women of the palace in male attire and stationed them on the parapet of the fort to make a show that it was not short of soldiers. The Sharqi army was strong and would have carried all before them but for the defection of Darya Khan Lodi, Mahmud Sharqi's Afghan general. Meanwhile Buhlul retraced his steps from Multan and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Sharqi army. Later there ensued conflict between Mahmud Sharqi and Buhlul over the possession of Etawah and Shamsabad in which the latter's brother-in-law Qutb Khan Lodi was taken captive. At this stage Mahmud Sharqi suddenly died in 1457 and his son Muhammad Shah succeeded him. The queen-mother of Jaunpur, Bibi Raji, concluded a truce with Buhlul on the condition that Sultan Mahmud's territories should be held by Sultan Muhammad and Sultan 'Ala-ud-din's possessions should belong to Buhlul. This was by no means an advantageous truce for Buhlul, for his brother-in-law Qutb Khan was still a prisoner

at Jaunpur and he had made no gains in territory. Muhammad Shah soon fell a victim to a fratricidal quarrel and was killed by the partisans of his brother Husain Sharqi, who now became Sultan of Jaunpur. In the meanwhile Buhlul had captured Muhammad Shah's brother Jalal Khan. Husain Sharqi negotiated exchange of the two royal prisoners, Qutb Khan Lodi and Jalal Khan. But none of the parties actually wanted to maintain peace and intended to attack each other whenever an opportunity offered itself. In the meantime Buhlul went on steadily gaining in strength. In 1479 Husain Sharqi attacked Delhi. Buhlul put him off his guard by agreeing to peace. When Husain retired Buhlul attacked him and pursued him right upto Jaunpur. Husain fled to Bahraich. The country around Jaunpur was occupied by Buhlul. He appointed Mubarak Khan governor of Jaunpur. Husain made another unsuccessful attempt to recover Jaunpur but eventually fled to Bihar in 1479. Buhlul appointed his son Barbek ruler of Jaunpur. He subdued Kalpi, Dholpur, Bari and Alapur. Buhlul also undertook an expedition against the Raja of Gwalior (1486-7) and compelled him to pay tribute. On his return journey to Delhi he fell seriously ill at Milauli, fifteen miles north of Sakit and died in July 1489.

Character and Achievements

The greatest achievement of Buhlul was the conquest of Jaunpur which took him more than a quarter of a century. He also brought, by stages, the whole of the Panjab and the region around the Doab under his control and would have done infinitely more but for the long war with Jaunpur, on the result of which depended his very survival. For his success he solely depended on the Afghans, a steady flow of whom from Roh was encouraged. Buhlul needed all the support from his fellow Afghans and he treated them with consideration and showed respect for traditional Afghan customs and sentiments. He would not sit on the throne and would share a carpet with the nobles whom he addressed as *Masnad-i-'Ali.* He would not hesitate to go to the houses of displeased Afghan nobles, ungird his sword or even take off his turban and implore them to choose someone else as their leader if in their estimation he was unworthy of his office. He

looked upon himself a chief among equals and not as a real monarch. This policy was essential because of the difficulties confronting him but it reduced the prestige and authority of the monarchy and created difficulties for his successors. Benevolent and generous, he was kind to the poor who never returned disappointed from his gate. His qualities as a soldier need hardly be overemphasised, for he died in harness, never knowing any rest or comfort throughout a long reign of more than thirty-eight years.

Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517)

Sultan Buhlul Lodi had nominated his son Nizam Khan as his successor. Some nobles had misgivings about Nizam and supported Bayazid's son A'zam Humayun, but Nizam was eventually crowned with the title of Sikandar Shah on Friday, 17 July 1489 in the palace of Firuz Shah.

Sikandar had first to deal with three princes of the royal household: his nephew A'zam Humayun, governor of Kalpi, his brothers Barbek Shah, governor of Jaunpur and 'Alam Khan, governor of Rapri. First he advanced against his younger brother 'Alam Khan, who fled before him and was won over by the assignment of the governorship of Etawah. He tried to avoid a clash with his elder brother Barbek by asking him to do him homage but on Barbek's refusal, he marched against him. They met at Qanauj and Barbek was defeated but was reinstated as governor of Jaunpur with some trusted officers who were to watch his activities. As for A'zam Humayun, when the Sultan marched from Jaunpur to Kalpi he had not the courage to oppose him and Mahmud Khan Lodi was appointed governor of Kalpi. Sikandar Lodi then proceeded towards Gwalior, whose ruler Man Singh acknowledged his supremacy. Bayana including its dependency of Agra was also occupied and conferred upon Khan Khanan Farmuli. After that the Sultan returned to Delhi.

Shortly after his return the Bachgoti Rajput Zamindars headed by Juga rebelled and Barbek Shah fled away from Jaunpur in panic. Sikandar pursued the rebels, defeated them. Juga joined Husain Sharqi who had advanced to Chaund. Sikander defeated

Husain in a battle and drove him away back to Bihar. Once again Husain Sharqi marched to Banaras but was defeated by Sikandar. Husain Sharqi now crossed into Bengal and spent the rest of his life as a pensioner of Sultan 'Ala-ud-din Husain Shah. Bihar and Tirhut now came under Sikandar's sway (1494).

Sikandar next marched against Sultan 'Ala-ud-din Husain Shah of Bengal (1495) but the latter thought it wise to negotiate peace with the Lodi Sultan. A treaty was concluded by which the parties agreed to respect each other's territories. The ruler of Bengal undertook not to harbour Sikandar's enemies.

In 1495 Sikandar went to Sambhal where he stayed for four years. From here he sent several expeditions to suppress rebellions of provincial governors. Gwalior and Dholpur were subdued.

Sikandar realised the importance of Agra as a place of strategic importance and decided to transfer his capital from Delhi to Agra. The old and ruined city of Delhi had very little attraction for him. In 1504 he laid the foundation of the city of Agra. The Sultan like his father began to lose health because of overwork. He fell ill and died in November 1516.

Character and Achievements

Sikandar Shah was undoubtedly the greatest ruler of the Lodi dynasty. He extended the boundaries of the Sultanate in all directions. The most notable conquests of Sikandar were those of Jaunpur and Bihar. The Raja of Tirhut owed allegiance to him. The rulers of Bengal and Orissa were friendly to him. The regions of Agra, Bayana, Dholpur, Etawah and Chandwar were subdued by the Sultan, and Gwalior and Malwa were considerably weakened. Besides, the Panjab which had given so much trouble to his predecessors was on the whole loyal to the Sultan.

He did not like pomp and grandeur and donned simple dress. Nothing unseemly was done in his court and strict discipline was maintained in his presence. Like all great monarchs he worked hard from morning till he went to bed. He was in the habit of giving audience daily and redressing wrongs. He spent the night in giving private audiences, conducting state business and listening to music or discourses of the learned.

Sikandar Lodi respected men of learning and loved to keep company with them. He bestowed lands and gifts on them most lavishly. By his cultivation of the arts of peace he brought about an intellectual renaissance. There was unusual intellectual effervescence and Sanskrit works were translated into Persian. Old manuscripts on different subjects were collected. Scholars from near and far flocked to his court and received encouragement from the Sultan. Besides his patronage of general learning, he was also careful about the promotion of Islamic learning. Himself a scholar of Persian he was a poet of considerable merit. He used to write poetry under the pen-name of Gulrukh. His association with the *'ulama* made him religious-minded and pious. He said his prayers regularly and used to recite the Holy Quran daily. He was fond of music and maintained many distinguished musicians at court. He was particularly fond of recitals on the *shahnai*.

A lover of justice, he administered even-handed justice to both high and low.

Sikandar Lodi infused new vigour in the administration. He tried to soften the roughness of Afghan behaviour by raising the level of their culture and education. He also sought to inculcate modesty, decency and politeness among the Afghans. Unlike his father who went out all the way to please the Afghans, Sikander compelled them to behave properly without, at the same time, arousing open hostility. He thus succeeded in bringing to an end their feuds and duels.

Besides controlling the Afghans, Sikandar kept a vigilant watch over the administrative departments. Nothing escaped his eye. He used to receive regularly reports of all happenings in the state. He revived the system of *dak chowkis* through relays of horses. Through the system of an efficient intelligence service he received information about every thing including even the household affairs of individuals. The story gained currency that the Sultan possessed supernatural powers. Army news, happenings in the provinces and the *parganahs* reached him daily through his officials. He used to send two *farmans* to the army on the march—one in the morning to march to this or that place, another in the evening to encamp at such and such place. Similarly he used to

send *farmans* to the district officers who would receive them with the greatest respect, and orders meant for public information were read out from the pulpits of the mosques. The Sultan strictly enforced audit and inspection of accounts. He insisted on honest dealings of the officers. Any loss of government property had to be made good by the officers responsible for it. Even the highest officers of the state could not violate any of these rules with impunity. Among other administrative measures of the Sultan mention may be made of detailed instructions to the provincial governors to keep a watch over prices and send daily reports of these prices to him. The Sultan interfered whenever it was necessary to enforce propriety in business dealings. He encouraged agriculture, trade and commerce which flourished throughout his reign. Commodities of daily use were available in abundance and their prices were cheap. For the first time since Timur's invasion the Sultanate witnessed an era of peace and prosperity during his reign.

Ibrahim Lodi (1517—26)

At the time of Sikandar's death, the princes and grandees of the Lodi kingdom were in Agra. They unanimously elected Ibrahim as Sultan, but their experience of Sikandar Lodi as a strong ruler taught them to be cautious and they decided to divide sovereignty between Ibrahim and his brother Jalal in order to guard their own interests. It was agreed that Ibrahim would occupy Delhi and Agra and the boundary of his kingdom would extend upto the boundary of the former kingdom of Jaunpur. His brother Jalal was to rule from Kalpi to Jaunpur with his capital at Jaunpur. The Afghan tradition was averse to a centralised monarchy and a similar experiment was attempted after the death of Buhlul in the case of Sikandar and Barbek. The feud among the various sections of Afghans was once again responsible for this division of the kingdom, but in this step lay hidden the seed of a future civil war.

Soon after Ibrahim was crowned Sultan (November 1517) and Jalal had gone to Kalpi, Khan Jahan Nuhani, governor of Rapri remonstrated with the nobles for the blunder they had committed in dividing the kingdom. Under this influence the

nobles now decided that Jalal should be invited to Agra to discuss the whole issue once again. Ibrahim accordingly sent a *farman* to Jalal asking him to come to Agra. At the same time he sent *farmans* to the nobles and officers of the eastern region to throw off their allegiance to Jalal promising profuse presents to each of them. Apprehending further troubles Ibrahim put into prison his other brothers. Jalal was taken completely unawares. He refused to go to Agra. He assumed the title of Sultan Jalal-ud-din and had the *khutbah* read and coins struck in his own name.

To win the confidence of the nobles and allegiance of the people, Ibrahim now held a second coronation. (December 1517). He sat on a throne inlaid with precious stones and held a grand *darbar*. This was a departure from the practice of his father and grandfather who never sat even on a raised platform in front of the nobles. The nobles were no more to be equals. All civil and military officers received new titles, robes of honour, and assignments according to rank and status. Moreover he gave away large sums of money in charity to please the soldiers and the common people. All this pomp and pageantry, unknown to the Afghan tradition, highly impressed the people. Ibrahim also introduced an exacting court etiquette.

Ibrahim marched with a large army against Jalal. The latter avoided a frontal fight and, being hard pressed, ultimately sought shelter with the Raja of Gwalior.

Ibrahim sent A'zam Humayun Sarwani, governor of Karah, with an army of 30,000 horsemen and 300 elephants to besiege Gwalior. Raja Vikramajit surrendered. Jalal Khan fled to Malwa and thence to the country of the Gonds whose Raja handed him over to Ibrahim in order to win his favour. The Sultan ordered him to be sent to prison in Hansi but he was killed on the way.

Rana Sanga of Chittor took advantage of the civil war between Ibrahim and Jalal to make encroachments on the territory of the Sultan. Ibrahim attacked the Rana who lost one arm and was wounded in the leg. But the Rajputs won a victory and the army of the Sultan had to retreat leaving a scion of the Lodi family a prisoner in the hands of the Rajputs. In 1518-19 Ibrahim sent Mian Makhan as commander-in-chief together with important

generals like Mian Khan Khanan Farmuli, Mian Ma'ruf and Mian Husain together with a large army to Rajputana. Mutual distrust among the officers led to the defection of Mian Husain who joined the Rana's forces. Ibrahim went to Rajputana and induced Mian Husain to rejoin him. The Afghans now made a renewed attack and inflicted heavy losses on the Rajputs. The Rana was wounded but escaped.

The rebellion of Jalal and subsequent events made Ibrahim suspicious of the Afghan nobles and he started taking drastic measures against the most trustworthy lieutenants of his father. To begin with he dismissed his father's illustrious *wazir* Mian Buhwah and cast him into prison on a vague charge of disobedience. The flight of Jalal from the fortress of Gwalior was attributed to the nobles and he recalled A'zam Humayun Sarwani and his son Fath Khan from Gwalior and cast both of them into prison. These arbitrary proceedings on the part of the Sultan antagonised a large section of the nobles who broke into open rebellion (1519). The first to unfurl the banner of revolt was A'zam Humayun Sarwani's son, Islam Khan Sarwani, whom the Sultan had deprived of the governorship of Karah-Manikpur. Other nobles came to join Islam Khan and the whole of Awadh from Karah to Qanauj rose up in arms against the Sultan. The rebels mustered 40,000 cavalry, 500 elephants, and a large body of infantry. The Sultan selected the best available Afghan leaders and sent them with an army of 50,000 strong to suppress the rebellion. All attempts on the part of a Muslim saint to settle the dispute between the parties failed. The rebels were completely defeated and Islam Khan was killed.

This victory emboldened the Sultan to intensify his vindictive policy against the Afghan nobility. Therefore, Darya Khan Nuhani, governor of Bihar, Khan Jahan Lodi and other Afghan nobles again rose in rebellion. After the death of Darya Khan, his son Bahadur Shah declared himself independent in Bihar with the title of Sultan Muhammad Shah. The rebels numbering one hundred thousand horse rallied round him. The whole eastern region from Bihar to Sambhal submitted to Muhammad who won several battles against the forces of the Sultan. In desperation the Sultan called to court Daulat Khan Lodi, governor of the Panjab

for consultation. But Daulat apprehended danger. He sent his son Dilawar Khan to assess the situation. Dilawar was shown the victims of royal wrath in prison, suspended from the walls and was warned of the impending fate befalling him and his father. The young man shuddered in fear and escaped to tell his father about his unhappy experience at the capital. Daulat Khan sent his son to Kabul inviting Babur to come to his rescue and crush the power of the Lodis. At the same time Daulat Khan's uncle 'Alam Khan, whom the dissatisfied Afghans wanted to raise to the throne, also arrived in Kabul.

Conflict with the Mughuls

Such an invitation was welcome to Babur who had long cherished the desire of conquering the subcontinent. He led an expedition to Lahore in 1524, defeated the army of Ibrahim Lodi and occupied Lahore. Contrary to the expectation of Daulat Khan, Babur, instead of reinstating him in Lahore, appointed his own administrators there. Babur then entered into an agreement with 'Alam Khan, undertaking to raise him to the throne of Delhi only retaining the Panjab for himself. However, Daulat Khan and 'Alam Khan made common cause and, with an army of thirty to forty thousand Afghans, attacked Delhi but they were defeated by Ibrahim. Babur now realised that the disaffected Afghan princes were thoroughly unreliable and the success of his campaigns would entirely depend on his own resources. After final preparations he started from Kabul in 1525 and crossed the Indus in December 1525 with an army only twelve thousand strong. He easily occupied the Panjab, his task having been facilitated by the defeat of Daulat Khan and 'Alam Khan by Ibrahim Lodi. Daulat Khan again submitted to Babur, who in his magnanimity pardoned him. Babur started for Delhi. Ibrahim came out with his army. Rana Sanga of Mewar had promised Ibrahim help against Babur but did not keep his promise. The two armies met at Panipat on 21 April 1526. Ibrahim's numerical superiority was no match for Babur's superior generalship. Ibrahim was killed on the battlefield. Babur achieved a resounding victory and established the rule of the Chaghatai Turks commonly known as the Mughuls.

Ibrahim Lodi possessed all the qualities of a soldier and dis-

played indomitable energy and dauntless bravery on the field of battle. He remained unperturbed in the face of the greatest dangers. He was kind to his subjects and, like his father, took keen interest in the promotion of agriculture. There was plenty and prosperity everywhere and the prices of commodities were cheap. His rashness and injustice in dealing with the Afghan nobles resulted in a confused civil war. It was impolitic on his part to have alienated the Afghans and not to have reconciled them even when the danger of foreign invasion loomed large on the horizon. The Mughuls would have not been encouraged in their designs of invasion but for Afghan dissensions.

A SHORT READING LIST

1. Abdul Halim, *History of the Lodi Sultans,* University of Dacca; 1961.
2. *Cambridge History of India,* Delhi, 1958; Vol. III, Chapter IX.

CHAPTER X

Rise of Independent Sultanates

BENGAL

Qutb-ud-din Aibek's general Ikhtiyar-ud-din Muhammad bin Bakhtyar Khalaji carried the victorious banners of Islam to the eastern frontiers of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. Thus the close of the twelfth century witnessed, on the one hand, a fresh infiltration of Muslims in the region of West Pakistan and, on the other, the first entry of Muslim arms in East Pakistan.

Muhammad bin Bakhtyar Khalaji conquered Bihar in 1193. In 1199 or thereabout he conquered the area of Varendra (northern Bengal) together with Lakhnauti (Lakshmanavati) near the city of Gaur. At the time of his death he had extended his sway over the principality of Lakhnauti (which roughly lay between Rangpur, the Tista and the main stream of the Ganges), on the lower course of the Kasi and the Rajmahal Hills. He exercised authority over the greater part of southern Bihar as well. He strengthened Islam in Bengal by establishing mosques, schools and colleges.

Khalaji Maliks

After the death of Muhammad bin Bakhtyar, another Khalaji noble, 'Ali Mardan was appointed governor. After Qutb-ud-din Aibek's death in November 1210 at Lahore, 'Ali Mardan severed connections with Delhi by assuming the title of Sultan 'Ala-ud-din in 1211 but he became unpopular and the nobles, united under the leadership of Husam-ud-din 'Iwaz, killed 'Ali Mardan and elected 'Iwaz as their ruler (1213) with the title of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din.

Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din 'Iwaz ruled over the kingdom of Lakhnauti for about fourteen years (1213-1227). The rulers of Jajnagar, Bang, Kamrup and Tirhut paid tribute to him. He transferred his capital from Devkot to the historic city of Gauda-Lakhnauti in 1219. Mosques, schools, palaces and mansions were built in the city. The palace fortress of Basankot at Gaur was built by him. The Sultan built a series of dykes to protect the city from floods. He joined the two cities of Devkot and Lakhnor (Nagar in the Birbhum district) by a road. Under him the kingdom of Lakhnauti and Bihar enjoyed a period of peace and prosperity. But during the last two years of his reign conditions changed because of the attempts on the part of Sultan Iltutmish to capture Bihar and Lakhnauti. In 1225 Iltutmish came in person. Finding his position difficult 'Iwaz negotiated a treaty by which he acknowledged the sovereignty of the Sultan of Delhi. Later, because he showed contumacy, Iltutmish sent Prince Nasir-du-din Mahmud against 'Iwaz who was captured and beheaded (March 1227).

Delhi's Control over Bengal

The distances from Delhi and the difficult communications, specially during the mosoons, led some ambitious nobles to rebel and aspire to independence. For instance, taking advantage of the weakness of the successors of Iltutmish, Tughril invaded Lakhnauti from Bihar and embarked on the design of establishing an Eastern Sultanate. However, very soon after his triumphal entry into Lakhnauti he had to face a formidable rival—the Hindu ruler of Jajnagar—who invaded the southern districts of Bengal. Tughril's position became difficult and he asked for assist-

ance from Delhi. Before he could receive any help Malik Tamar Khan of Awadh defeated him and captured Lakhnauti. Tughril had to seek refuge in Delhi as a fugitive.

The next ruler of importance was Yuzbek, who was appointed governor of Awadh, Bihar and Bengal in 1252-53. In addition to Varendra he annexed Radha (West Bengal) to his dominions and undertook a second conquest of Nadia. Yuzbek, even before he was sent as governor, had several times rebelled against the weak successors of Iltutmish. He now openly flouted the authority of Delhi and assumed the title of Sultan. He led an expedition to Kamrup (Assam), which he occupied easily. However, during the rainy season of 1257, Yuzbek was caught by the Hindus in a narrow defile, defeated and severely wounded. He succumbed to his wounds. Then confusion prevailed in Bengal till Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Balban appointed (circa 1258-59) Mughis-ud-din Tughril as deputy-governor of Bengal, naming Amir Khan governor of both Awadh and Bengal.

Tughril proved more than a mere deputy. He is credited with having extended Muslim rule to Radha and also portions of Jajnagar. By conquering the modern districts of Faridpur and Dacca he also consolidated his position in the impregnable fortress of Narkila (25 miles south of Dacca) which is also known as "Qila Tughril". He then defeated Amir Khan (1275-76) and assumed the title of Sultan Mughis-ud-din. Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Balban was greatly perturbed over these developments and sent troops to punish Tughril who defeated them. Balban then marched at the head of a large army accompanied by a large flotilla of boats (1280). Tughril avoided a direct clash and evacuated Lakhnauti, which easily fell into the hands of Balban. Balban encamped near Sonargaon. A detachment of his army discovered Tughril's whereabouts and he was killed in an encounter. On returning to Lakhnauti, Balban meted out exemplary punishment on Tughril's followers. He then appointed his youngest son Bughra Khan, who had accompanied him from Delhi, as governor of Bengal. He warned Bughra Khan of the terrible fate of a rebel and advised him to prove himself worthy of his duties as a ruler. He also asked Bughra Khan not to sever relations with Dehli without whose good will he would be weakened.

The Balbani Rulers

Although summoned to Delhi to succeed his father, Bughra Khan declined to go. He assumed the title of Sultan Nasir-ud-din Mahmud in 1285. After his death in 1291, Mahmud was succeeded by his son Rukn-ud-din Kaikaus.

The next ruler Shams-ud-din Firuz Shah, who enjoyed a long reign of twenty-one years (1301-1322) over Bihar, Lakhnauti, Satgaon and Sonargaon, was in all probability a noble of Delhi and not a descendent of Nasir-ud-din, as is generally believed. During his reign Muslim rule extended to modern Mymensingh and Sylhet in East Pakistan. He ruled over the Bengal territories in comparative peace and glory. The ruins of the old city of Pandua-Firuzabad bears testimony to his greatness. After his death, there was a war of succession, in which Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq intervened and installed one of the claimants Nasir-ud-din as a ruler of West Bengal after defeating Ghiyas-ud-din Bahadur Shah. Eastern Bengal was annexed to the Sultanate of Delhi.

Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq after his accession made important administrative adjustments in Bengal by dividing the province into three administrative units and appointing Qadr Khan governor of Lakhnauti, 'Izz-ud-din A'zam-ul-Mulk of Satgaon and Ghiyas-ud-din Bahadur Shah of Sonargaon associating Bahram Khan with him. It was about this time that modern Tipperah and the Chittagong districts were annexed to Muslim Bengal. But soon the ambitious Bahadur Shah made a bid for mastery over the whole of Bengal and was defeated and killed by Bahram Khan. Bahram himself died in 1338 and his armour-bearer Fakhr-ud-din declared himself independent at Sonargaon with the title of Sultan Fakhr-ud-din Mubarak Shah and is said to have ruled in Sonargaon till 1349-50.

In Lakhnauti, after the death of Qadr in 1339, his army chief 'Ali Mubarak began to rule with the title of 'Ala-ud-din 'Ali Shah, but his foster brother Haji Ilyas made himself independent ruler of North Bengal about 1342 under the title of Shams-ud-din Ilyas Shah.

During the reign of Fakhr-ud-din Mubarak Shah the Moorish traveller Ibn Battutah visited East Bengal. Ibn Battutah has left for us a vivid description of the area and its people.

Ibn Battutah's Account of Bengal

Two things in East Pakistan attracted the attention of this famous traveller: the exquisite scenic beauty and the cheapness of prices of all commodities. "The way to Bengal and Lakhnauti (from Sylhet) lies through this river (Meghna and along the bank of this river to the right as well as to the left there are water-wheel, gardens and villages like those along the banks of the Nile in Egypt... For fifteen days we sailed down this river passing through villages and orchards as though we were going through a mart," declares Ibn Battutah. Having travelled in many countries of Africa and Asia and having seen important and prosperous business marts from Morocco to China he was a competent observer. The list of prices of different commodities that he has left for use is indicative of the prosperity that prevailed in Bengal in his time. Ibn Battutah, however, found Bengal damp. Foreigners who had settled down in this area called it a hell full of good things. His chief purpose in coming to East Pakistan was to visit Shaikh Jalaluddin of Tabriz who had settled down in Sylhet. Ibn Battutah pays high tribute to the reigning Sultan Fakhr-ud-din for his respect for the sufis and religious men.

Ilyas Shahi Rulers of Bengal

Ilyas Shah launched upon a career of conquest and after consolidating his position at Pandua which had became the capital of North and West Bengal, he first conquered Tirhut and then Orissa and soon the Sultan's dominions extended upto Banaras. Nearer at home, he overthrew the son of Fakhr-ud-din and annexed Sonargaon to his kingdom. The activities of Ilyas Shah in extending his dominions and consolidating his position over the entire province of Bengal aroused the fear and suspicion of Sultan Firuz Shah, whose two invasions of Bengal have already been described. As a result of the first invasions Ilyas Shah was deprived of his conquests west of Lakhnauti but he continued to rule over Bengal as an independent king. He also achieved a victory over the Raja of Kamrup, whose capital city he occupied. After a peaceful and prosperous reign he died around the year 1357. Early in the reign of Sikandar Shah, son and successor of Ilyas Shah,

Sultan Firuz made another attempt to annex Bengal but Sikandar defended himself from within the fortress of Ekdala and ultimately a treaty of friendship was concluded between the parties (1359). During a long and prosperous reign of about 36 years Sikandar adorned the capital and its surroundings with many noble monuments, the most important of which is the grand mosque at Adinah. Its large dimensions, the big pillared hall and the variety of material utilised make it a striking monument. However, Sikandar Shah was embroiled in a complicated family intrigue and died in 1389 in a battle with his son Ghiyas-ud-din A'zam Shah at Goalpara near Pandua.

History and tradition unite to make the reign of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din A'zam Shah the most romantic in Bengal. The Sultan corresponded with the illustrious poet Hafiz of Shiraz. He exchanged embassies with the Emperor of China. The great sufi saint Nur Qutb-ul-'Alam was a friend of the Sultan. The account of the Sultan's trial before Qazi Siraj-ud-din like an ordinary defendent survives in the local tradition which makes him a symbol of justice and equity in this region. He died in 1409.

The Ganesha Episode

The dynasty of Ilyas Shahi rulers suffered an eclipse for a period of about 29 years (between 1414 and 1442) when a Hindu Raja usurped power and his dynasty, though converted to Islam after him, continued to rule Bengal. Raja Ganesha is a most controversial figure in the history of Medieval Bengal. The most widely accepted opinion is that Raja Ganesha, a Hindu zamindar of Dinajpur became an independent ruler in Pandua who persecuted Muslims and tried to uproot Islam. At this Qutb 'Alam invited the Sultan of Jaunpur who came with a large army. Thereupon Ganesha abdicated and his son became a Muslim and was raised to the throne. At this Qutb 'Alam persuaded the Sultan of Jaunpur to withdraw. Ganesha once again seized power and began to persecute Muslims. Jadu, Ganesha's son who had been raised to the throne, was made by Ganesha to renounce Islam but he continued to believe in Islam and, after his father's death, he ruled as a Muslim monarch under the title of Jalal-ud-din Shah until he died in 1431. He was succeeded by his son Shams-ud-din Ahmad

whose tyranny made him extremely unpopular among the nobles. They conspired against him and had him murdered. They then raised Nasir-ud-din, a grandson of Haji Ilyas, to the throne with the title of Nasir-ud-din Abul Muzaffar Mahmud Shah in 1442. The dynasty of Ilyas Shahi kings, thus restored, ruled over Bengal upto 1487, when an Abyssinian interregnum followed. The first ruler of the restored dynasty Nasir-ud-din Mahmud enjoyed an undisturbed and prosperous reign of about seventeen years. Devoid of stirring military events, his reign was solely devoted to arts of peace and a large number of mosques, *khanqahs,* gates, bridges and other works of public utility were constructed. The city of Gaur, which had again become the capital under Jalal-ud-din, was adorned by him with the construction of new buildings. Muslim rule was extended over parts of Jessore and Khulna districts during his reign. A part of the 24-Parganas was added to the Satgaon province. His successor Rukn-ud-din Barbek was "a sagacious and law-abiding sovereign in whose kingdom the soldiers and the citizens alike enjoyed contentment and security". His general Isma'il conducted successful frontier campaigns on the south-west against the Hindu rulers of Orissa and in the north-east against the ruler of Kamrup. Muslim authority was reasserted over the Surma Valley and the district of Chittagong. The District of Backerganj seems to have come under Muslim rule for the first time during his reign. Nor did Barbek Shah neglect the arts of peace. He was the earliest Muslim ruler to patronise Bengali literature. The poet Maladhar Basu, who started writing his *Sri Krishna Vijaya* during his reign, received his patronage and was honoured by the title of Gunaraj Khan, whereas the poet's son received the title of Satyaraj Khan. However, Barbek introduced a large number of Abyssinian slaves in the army and in the palace. It is said that eight thousand of such slaves appointed by him gradually captured all the key-positions in the state with disastrous results.

The next ruler Shams-ud-din Firuz was a man of pious disposition. The last monarch of the line, Jalal-ud-din Fath, continued the general policy of his predecessors. But the Abyssinian slaves conspired and killed him. The Abyssinian interregnum (1487-1493) is a dismal record of court-intrigues. The Firuzi Minar at Gaur com-

memorates the reign of the second Abyssinian king Saif-ud-din Firuz (1487-1490). The last of the Abyssinians, Sidi Badr Diwana, grew highly unpopular and the discontented officers and soldiers, under the leadership of his minister Saiyid Husain, besieged the Sultan in the citadel in the course of which he died or was killed. The nobles then raised Saiyid Husain to the throne with the title 'Ala-ud-din Husain Shah (1493).

Husain Shahi Rulers

The accession of 'Ala-ud-din Husain Shah ushered in a new era of peace and prosperity. The territories of Muslim Bengal expanded on all sides and administrative stability paved the way for a cultural effervescence in which talent and genius had unfettered opportunities to flourish. Being rulers of unusual ability, sagacity and foresight, Husain Shahi kings became deservedly popular. All credit must go to the rulers of this dynasty for an early fifteenth century cultural renaissance in Bengal. The origin of this dynasty is shrouded in mystery and has given rise to considerable speculation. Most of the traditions represent Husain Shah as an Arab Saiyid, who rose to power and prominence by sheer ability and energy. He led the popular revolt against his tyrannical master and brought the era of confusion and intrigue to an end. He kept the soldiers under control and did not permit them to play politics. He was strict in dealing with rebels. By expelling the Abyssinians from the kingdom he made it possible for all the members of the older nobility to return to the court. These measures served to restore order and stabilise administration.

When Husain, the last of the Sharqi kings of Jaunpur, was driven away from his kingdom by the Afghans, he found a wel-come refuge in Bengal. Husain Shah then turned to the north-eastern frontiers. Some territories on this frontier had been lost to Bengal during the period of Abyssinian anarchy. Husain Shah now launched a vigorous campaign and occupied the city of Kamtanagar in Kuch-Bihar. An army was also sent to Orissa which proceeded as far as Puri. The fortress of Mandaran on the frontier was occupied by the Bengali forces. Protracted campaigns were also carried on against the ruler of Tipperah (Comilla) which, however, seem to have been inconclusive. But the mention in the Sonargaon

inscription of one Khawas Khan as *Sar Lashkar* of Tipperah would suggest that at least a part of Tipperah was annexed by Husain Shah. The war with Tipperah appears to have merged in a war with the ruler of Arakan, who having actively supported the king of Tipperah, had taken the opportunity of Husain's pre-occupation with the Tipperah campaigns to capture Chittagong. The task of recovery was entrusted to Paragal Khan, the famous general of Husain Shah, and, after him, his son Chhuti Khan steadily pushed the Arakanese southwards. The crown-prince Nusrat was also initially associated with the Chittagong campaigns which gave rise to local traditions ascribing to him the first conquest of the district. The campaigns were over by 1517. Husain Shah died in 1519.

Husain Shah was undoubtedly the best of all medieval rulers of Bengal. He was a patron of learning and held men of piety in high esteem. He regularly visited the tomb of Hazrat Nur Qutb 'Alam at Pandua and assigned liberal endowments for its maintenance. The welfare of his subjects was uppermost in his mind and he was adored by all his subjects, Hindus and Muslims alike. The "crown of kings", (*Nripati Tilak*) and 'Adornment of the Universe' (*Jagat Bhushan*) were the titles conferred upon him by his Hindu subjects. Large number of Hindus served him in high governmental posts. Husain Shah extended his active patronage to the development of Bengali literature. Bengali language and literature thus owe a great deal to the Muslim rulers of Bengal, for his son Nusrat Shah also continued the policy of his father. Among Bengali writers who received his favour, mention may be made of Maladhar Basu, Bipradas, Vijaya Gupta and Jasraj Khan. His governor of Chittagong, Paragal Khan patronised Paramishvara, the earliest translator of *Mahabharata*. On Chaitanya's visit to Gaur, the Sultan is said to have ordered his officers to show respect to him.

The reign of Nusrat Shah (1519-1532), who succeeded his father Husain Shah was remarkable from the point of view of the continuation of the policy of expansion and also of cultural development. Early in his reign he captured Tirhut. His reign also marks a transitional period in the history of the subcontinent since Afghan supremacy in the northern part of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent was replaced by the Mughul victory of Babur, as a result of which the

Afghans were gradually being pushed towards the east and south. Nusrat, on the one hand, actively participated in organising an eastern *entente* against the Mughuls with the help of the fugitive Afghans, and, on the other, he took care not to antagonise Babur. He entertained the Mughul envoy for more than one year at his court and sent his own envoy with presents and expressions of loyalty. The defeat of almost all his Afghan allies campelled Nusrat to conclude a treaty of peace with Babur in 1529.

About the same time he was involved in a protracted war with the Ahom ruler of the upper Brahmaputra valley but the Bengali forces did not fare well against the superior naval forces of the Ahoms. Nusrat fell a victim to an assassin in 1532. During his reign the patronage of Bengali literature continued uninterrupted. Among the chief architectural monuments which owe their origin to Nusrat Shah mention must be made of the Great Golden Mosque (*Bara Sona Masjid*) and the mosque of Qadam Rasul at Gaur besides other mosques at Satgaon, Sonargaon and Mangal Kot. He is credited with having ordered a Bengali translation of the *Mahabharata*. His viceroy of Chittagong, Chhuti Khan, had the Hindu epic translated byone Shri Kara Nandi. Kaviranjan was another officer who was a poet of repute. Two other rulers of this dynasty, 'Ala-ud-din Firuz, son and successor of Nusrat Shah, who ruled for less than a year and Ghiyas-ud-din Mahmud, Nusrat's brother, who ruled from 1533 to 1538, were quite unworthy of the throne. Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Mahmud was a pleasure loving, easy-going ruler and was expelled from Bengal by Sher Khan Sur.

Administration

Administratively, Muslim Bengal, partly because of the distance from Delhi and partly because of its difficult terrain, stood on a different basis than other provinces of Delhi. It was seldom administered as a province and, for the greater part, its position as a vassal kingdom was recognized. Whenever the central authority was weak, the links with Delhi were weakened and sometimes even snapped. Balban had given sound advice to Bughra Khan when he had asked him not to annoy Delhi, because the Sultans of Delhi could stop the supply of horses, and the medieval

armies depended so strongly on cavalry that horses were essential.

The administration was organized roughly on the pattern of Delhi with the Governor or the Sultan at the head. There are sometimes deviations in titles. The details of local administration are difficult to reconstruct because of paucity of materials. The broad divisions were *iqlim* (sub-province) and *'arsah* (a district like *nahiyah* of Delhi). The administration of justice and religious affairs conformed to the general Muslim pattern in broad outlines and was not different from that of Delhi.

Islam in Bengal

Muslim rule in Bengal resulted in the development of a cultural and social consciousness which, being based in Islam, brought about revolutionary changes of outlook and behaviour. In the wake of the warriors and administrators came preachers, settlers and merchants whose way of life, through its impact upon the minds of the people, gained many converts. The *sufis* established *dargahs* and *khanqahs* and carried on missionary work. Their simplicity and piety attracted many down-trodden men and women. Tradition associates a number of localities in Bengal with a large number of *sufis* who are said to have come even before the conquest. Although the authenticity of these traditions has been questioned, the number of sufi-saints who came after the consolidation of political rule and whose identities have been established beyond all doubt, is large enough to show the extent and the effectiveness of their efforts in gaining converts.

Among these venerated names mention may be made of Makhdum-ul-Mulk Shaikh Sharaf-ud-din Yahya Maneri, Shaikh Jalal of Sylhet, whose *dargah* is still visited by large number of people, Shaikh Akhi Siraj-ud-din who worked in Gaur and Pandua, Shaikh 'Ala-ul-Haq, a disciple of Shaikh Akhi Siraj-ud-din, Shaikh Nur Qutb 'Alam who invited Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi of Jaunpur to punish Ganesha, the usurper. The tombs of the last two are in Chhoti Dargah in Pandua. Shaikh 'Ala-ul-Haq lived in Pandua during the reign of Sikandar Shah but his extreme popularity aroused the jealousy of the Sultan who banished him to Sonargaon. Sultan'Ala-ud-din Husain Shah was a great admirer of Hazrat Nur Qutb 'Alam whose tomb he visited

every year. Maulana 'Ata was a contemporary of Sultan Sikandar Shah. The warrior-saint Shah Isma'il Ghazi lived at Lakhnauti in the reign of Sultan Rukn-ud-din Barbek Shah, who executed the saint on charges of disloyalty. These and numerous other unnamed missionaries established *khanqahs* to which the rural masses flocked from time to time to find solace and comfort in their worldly difficulties and seek salvation and guidance in their spiritual yearning. The Buddhists had been treated badly by the Hindus and they were converted to Islam because of the tolerance and good treatment extended to them by the Muslims.

These factors led gradually to mass conversions which explains the presence of the large number of Muslims in the deltaic Bengal. Sometimes, because of lack of understanding on the part of the simple village folk, local influences found expression in religious beliefs. The development of the cults of *Satya Pir* and *Panch Pir* are some of the examples of such developments. Islam also tremendously influenced the life of the Hindus of Bengal, who for the first time in their history were confronted with a new polity, religion and civilisation. The Hindus of the upper classes adopted Muslim dress, manners and etiquette. Islam with its emphasis on the idea of universal brotherhood set in motion a liberalising influence on the Hindu society. This led to the rise of several religious and social reformers who made serious efforts at reforming the society from within. The rise of Chaitanya's Vaishnavism with its emphasis on monotheism and equality of man was undoubtedly indebted to Islamic ideas. The Muslim Sultans of Bengal offered to the Hindus numerous opportunities to display their genius. This policy reached its culmination under the Husain Shahi rulers.

Literature

The Muslim patronage of Bengali literature in addition to traditional Muslim learning led to a cultural regeneration in Bengal an evidence of which is provided by the production of innumerable works of importance written by both Muslim and Hindu scholars. In their pursuit of traditional learning Muslim scholars of Bengal did not lag behind their counterparts in other Muslim countries. Mention may be made of Maulana Sharaf-ud-din Abu Tawwamah of Sonargaon whose *Maqamat* on *tasawwuf* gained

celebrity in the whole of this subcontinent. One of his disciples, Makhdum Sharaf-ud-din Yahya Maneri was also famous for his works on Sufism. *Amrita Kunda,* a Sanskrit book on *yoga* was translated into Arabic by Rukn-ud-din Samarqandi, who held the post of Qazi at Lakhnauti in the reign of 'Ali Mardan Khalaji (1210-13). The Persian work *Namah-i-Haq* on jurisprudence by an anonymous author is also considered to have been written in Bengal towards the close of the thirteenth century. It was during this period that Bengali Muslims took to writing in Bengali on subjects of Islam and Muslim tradition. Shah Muhammad Saghir, who flourished during the reign of Ghiyas-ud-din A'zam Shah pleads for writing in Bengali on religious topics in his book *Yusuf Zulaikha.* In the reign of Sultan Nusrat Shah, the poet Afzal Ali wrote his *Nasihat-namah* in Bengali. Similarly Muzammil, a Bengali poet of the middle of the fifteenth century, wrote his *Nitishashtra* and *Sa'at namah* drawing upon Arabic and Persian sources. Faridullah, author of *Ghazi Vijaya* and Zain-ud-din, author of *Rasul Vijaya* flourished in the later half of the fifteenth century. Daulat Wazir, the celebrated author of *Laila-Majnun* in Bengali flourished in the second half of the sixteenth century. The Muslim authors mostly used the Arabic script for writing Bengali and used a large percentage of Persian and Arabic words. Equally important was the contribution made by Hindu writers who also enjoyed royal patronage and for the first time rendered their sacred books into Bengali. Thus Bengali became a vehicle of thought for conveying the religious ideas of both Hindus and Muslims. Poet Krittivas, who translated the *Ramayana* into Bengali was a court-poet of Raja Ganesha, and Maladhar Basu, a court-poet of Rukn-ud-din Barbek Shah, wrote the *Srikrishna Vijaya* and the Sultan conferred on him the title of Gunaraj Khan. The period of Husain Shahi rule is regarded as the golden age of Medieval Bengali literature. The patronage of Husain Shah ushers in a new era of Bengali literature. Joshoraj Khan, a poet of his court, who was also a government officer, wrote another *Srikrishna Vijaya.* Vijaya Gupta and Vipradas wrote the epics *Manasamangala* and *Manasa Vijaya* respectively in the reign of Husain Shah. Paragal Khan, Husain Shah's Commander and Governor of Chittagong, had *Mahabharata* translated into Bengali by the poet Kabindra Parmishvara. Chhuti Khan, son of

Paragal Khan, was also a patron of learning and to his active interest we owe the translation of *Mahabharata* by Shri Kara Nandi. Another poet Kavirajan flourished during the reign of Husain Shah.

Economic conditions

The rule of the Sultans not only contributed to political stability but Bengal under them also enjoyed a period of plenty and prosperity of which the cultural regeneration briefly referred to above provides a direct evidence. There was unprecedented prosperity through agriculture, industries and commerce. "The fertility of the soil of Bengal, the abundance of its agricultural and industrial products and the large volume of its foreign trade evoked the wonder and admiration of the foreign merchants and travellers so much that they called it a garden and even a paradise." Mention has been made already of the cheapness of Bengali agricultural products as attested to by Ibn Battutah. According to the Chinese account, "The seven heavens have scattered the gold of this earth to this kingdom, the riches and integrity of the people surpass perhaps those of Palembang and equal those of Chao-a (Java)." The textile industry in Bengal was highly developed and the Chinese account mentions six varieties of cloth. Besides, salt, sugar, paper and ornaments of various kinds were made in Bengal. The river communication provided facilities for internal trade and commerce whereas the ports of Chittagong, Satgaon and other minor ports linked up Bengal with the Far Eastern, Middle Eastern and even European countries. Bengal was also famous for its ship-building industry.

SIND AND MULTAN

Arab Rule

For some time after the Arab conquest Sind continued to form part of the Umayyad and then the Abbasid Caliphates. Under Sulaiman, the Umayyad Caliph (715-717), his governor of Sind, Habib bin Muhallab allowed Jai Sigh, son of Dahir, to come back to Brahmanabad as a feudatory of the Caliph. The pious Caliph 'Umar bin 'Abdul 'Aziz issued invitations to the princes

of Sind urging upon them to accept Islam. Dahir's son Jai Singh, among others responded to the call of the Caliph. The Umayyad governor Junaid appointed by Hisham (724-743) to rule over Sind dealt with a rebellion of Jai Singh and further undertook several expeditions to Rajputana, Kathiawar, north Gujarat, and Malwa. He was later promoted to the viceroyalty of the eastern provinces of the Caliphate. The Arabs were a small minority in a newly conquered land and it was necessary to strengthen their defences. The Umayyad governor Hakam, assisted by a son of Muhammad bin Qasim, took adequate steps in this direction. He built a stronghold for the Muslims forty miles north-west of modern Haiderabad called Mahfuzah (the "well-guarded city"). He retrieved the lost position of the Arabs and built another city opposite to Mahfuzah which he named Mansurah (the "victorious city").

The Abbasid governor Hisham reduced Multan and carried on successful raids against Gujarat and Kashmir. A later governor, Bashar, rebelled against Caliph al-Mamun. After the suppression of the revolt Musa, son of Yahya the Barmakid, was appointed governor. He, however, nominated before his death his own son 'Imran as governor of Sind and although Caliph Mu'tasim's recognition to this appointment was obtained this indicated the gradual relaxation of the central control over Sind where governorships henceforth tended to become hereditary. 'Imran was an energetic ruler who subjugated the Jats and Meds. He pursued the latter as far as Adhoi in eastern Kutch area. In 854 the Hibbari family became hereditary rulers in Sind with Mansurah as the capital.

The Sumras and the Sammas

Towards the close of the ninth century Sind and Multan came under the influence of Isma'ili propaganda. In 977 Multan was captured by the Isma'ilis. Isma'ili doctrines were adopted as the official religion and the *khutbah* was read in the name of the Fatimid caliph. Mansurah remained longer under the Hibbari family as mentioned above, but later it also succumbed to the Isma'ili propaganda. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni was harassed by Abul Fath Da'ud, the Isma'ili ruler of Multan, on his way back

from the Bhatia expedition. Mahmud inflicted a crushing defeat on Da'ud in 1005 and made him recant from Isma'ili belief. In 1026 on his return from Somnath, Mahmud also subdued Sind. With the decline of the Ghaznawid power Isma'ilism again became predominant in Multan but in 1175 Sultan Muhammad Ghuri captured Multan and appointed a governor. In Sind a native Rajput tribe called the Sumras became powerful. They rebelled against Mas'ud, son of Mahmud. Although Muhammad Ghuri conquered Sind and his lieutenant Nasir-ud-din Qubachah maintained a magnificent court at Uchh, during the period of confusion that followed the frequent Mongol invasions in Sind and West Panjab the Sumras must have reasserted their authority over Sind and continued their hold on Sind till the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq when another Rajput tribe of Kutch and Lower Sind called the Sammas ousted the Sumras and established their rule over Sind. The rulers of the Samma dynasty bore the title of Jam. The Sumras were Isma'ili Muslims. The Sammas from their fifth ruler onward were converted to Sunnism.

Mention has been made of Firuz Shah's campaigns against and Jams Juna and Banbhaniya, both of whom were taken by him to Delhi. During the reign of the last but one Samma ruler, Jam Nizam-ud-din popularly known as Nanda, Mahmud Begarha of Gujarat came to the help of the Muslims of Southern Sind when they were dominated and persecuted by the Hindus. Mahmud's mother was a daughter of Nanda. In 1472 it was reported that Nanda was faced with a formidable rebellion of 40,000 people, who, according to Firishtah, were Baluchi Shi'ites. Mahmud came to his grand-father's rescue once again and on his approach the rebels dispersed. It was again during the reign of Nanda that the Arghuns began to make their influence felt in Sind. When in 1522 Shah Beg Arghun was driven out of Qandahar by Babur, he came to Sind and expelled Firuz, the last Samma ruler, and occupied Sind.

Multan had been captured by Muhammad Ghuri. After the death of Qutb-ud-din Aibek Multan fell into the hands of Nasir-ud-din Qubachah. Iltutmish conquered it from Nasir-ud-din. Then Multan changed hands from the Sultan of Delhi

to Hasan Qarlugh, a representative of Jalal-ud-din Mangbarni, and when pressure from Mongol invaders increased, it was occupied for some time by them. Effective control of the Delhi government over Multan was exercised at the time of Balban who sent his eldest son Muhammad as governor of Multan. The great poet Amir Khusraw belonged to the entourage of Prince Muhammad who held court at Multan. The death of Prince Muhammad is immortalised in the poems of Amir Khusraw. Despite this reverse, however, Multan continued to be a province of the Delhi Sultanate but, during the confusion following the invasion of Timur, it became independent. Khizr Khan, the founder of the Saiyid dynasty was appointed governor of Multan by Timur while leaving the subcontinent. The grandfather of Buhlul Lodi and his uncle Islam Khan first served under the governors of Multan, which remained the chief centre of Afghan recruitment from the Roh. But in 1438 the people of Multan chose as their ruler Shaikh Yusuf Quraishi, the guardian of the shrine of Hazrat Baha-ud-din Zakariya. But a man of piety, the Shaikh was soon beguiled into giving up his position to a wily Rajput chief Sihrah Langah of Rapri, near Uchh, who had accepted Islam at the hands of Shaikh Baha-ud-din or his successors. Rai Sihrah assumed the title of Qutb-ud-din and established the rule of the Langah dynasty over Multan. Hasan Langah (1460-1502), son of Sihrah, was the ablest ruler of the dynasty. He defeated an army sent by Buhlul Lodi under Barbek Shah and Tatar Khan. In 1525 Shah Husain Arghun captured Multan, but Langar Khan, an officer of the Langah rulers, managed to re-occupy Multan when Shah Arghun left for Sind. Langar Khan submitted to the Mughul governor of the Panjab, and Multan became a Mughul province.

GUJARAT

Gujarat had been always famous for its wealth, and the first Muslim ruler to invade the country was Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, who led an attack against Somnath in 1025. It was, however, 'Ala-ud-din Khalaji who annexed Gujarat to the Sultanate of Delhi in 1297. Since then Gujarat had remained a part of the Sultanate of Delhi as long as the central authority was strong,

Gujarat emerged as an independent state during the period of confusion that prevailed after Timur's invasion. The first ruler to declare himself independent was Zafar Khan whom Sultan Muhammad Shah, the youngest son of Firuz, appointed governor of Gujarat in 1391 with the title Muzaffar Khan. In 1396 when there were two rival kings, Mahmud Shah and Nusrat Shah at Delhi, he assumed independent powers. During the invasion of Timur the fugitive Sultan Mahmud took shelter in Gujarat. Muzaffar's son Tatar Khan was an ambitious and influential noble at Delhi but failing to cope with Mallu Iqbal Khan he came to Gujarat and urged upon his father to invade Delhi. But as Muzaffar did not show any eagerness for the enterprise, Tatar Khan imprisoned his father and declared himself king of Gujarat with the title Muhammad Khan and then embarked upon his cherished desire of invading Delhi. On the way he was poisoned to death by his uncle who then released Muzaffar from the prison. In 1407 Muzaffar enthroned himself as Sultan Muzaffar Shah. He subdued Dhar and undertook other expeditions to consolidate his power. He died in 1410-11.

Muzaffar Shah was succeeded by his grandson Ahmad Shah, who was the real founder of the independence of Gujarat. He spent the greater part of his reign in waging ceaseless war against the Hindu rulers of Gujarat and Rajputana and Muslim rulers of Malwa and the Deccan. In the first year of his reign he built the city of Ahmadabad on the left bank of the Sabarmati river and decorated it with fine and gorgeous buildings.

In 1414 he marched against the Hindu raja of Girnar, defeated the Raja and captured the fort of Junagarh. He then compelled the Raja to pay him tribute. He took advantage of a civil war in Khandesh between two brothers to assert his authority over Khandesh, the whole of which he now bestowed on Nasir on whom he conferred the title of Khan. He led several expeditions against Sultan Hushang of Malwa, ravaged his territory without, however, achieving any great success. The Raja of Jhalawar with the help of Ahmad Shah Bahmani attacked Gujarat in 1429. The Deccan army was defeated and retreated to Daulatabad. Gujarat annexed Thana and Mahim. In 1432 Ahmad Shah undertook his last campaign against several Hindu rulers. He died in 1442.

Sultan Ahmad Shah was succeeded by his eldest son Muhammad Shah II who continued the war against the Hindu rulers. After the death of Muhammad Shah II his son Qutb-ud-din Ahmad Shah ascended the throne. His reign was mainly occupied by war with the Rana of Chittor. He was succeeded by Da'ud but the nobles being dissatisfied with him elected a grandson of Ahmad Shah known as Mahmud Begarha. He is regarded as the greatest of the Gujarat kings. He won the sobriquet Begarha as he conquered two forts of Girnar and Champaner.

He undertook his first expedition against Mahmud Khalaji of Malwa, who invaded the dominion of the infant Bahmani King Nizam Shah. Not only did Mahmud take military action but he also warned the ruler of Khandesh that severe action would follow if the dominion of the boy king was again attacked. This warning proved effective. Mahmud undertook several expeditions against the Raja of Girnar compelling the latter to pay tribute. In the course of the last expedition he defeated the Raja and compelled him to become a Muslim. His country was annexed to Gujarat. He renamed Junagarh as Mustafabad. Mahmud also invaded southern Sind on an appeal by the local Muslims that they were being persecuted by the Hindus. A second time he went to Sind to help his grand-father Jam Nizam-ud-din against Baluchi rebels, who dispersed on the approach of Mahmud's army (1472). Mahmud led an attack against Bhim, the Raja of Dvaraka, to chastise the pirates. The Raja was defeated and taken captive. He was later executed.

His next campaign was against the Raja of Champanir. The Raja's son pillaged the country between Champanir and Ahmadabad when Mahmud was busy fighting the Raja of Girnar. Further a Gujarati officer was killed in the course of a raid on Champanir. Mahmud started for Champanir in December 1482. Although the ruler of Malwa came to the rescue of Champanir he had to withdraw on a demonstration of force by Mahmud. The Raja fought bravely but was defeated, captured (1484) and later executed. The Raja's son accepted Islam and later became the governor of Idar with the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk. Mahmud renamed Champanir as Muhammadabad.

The reign of Mahmud Begarha is famous for the rise of the

Portuguese as a power of considerable importance in the subcontinent. The Portuguese had established a fort in Cochin and were breaking the monopoly of Arab trade in the Indian Ocean. A combined Egyptian and Gujarati naval action was undertaken at Chaul against the Portuguese navy in January 1508. In a severe engagement the Portuguese were defeated. But later the Portuguese won a victory over the Muslims near the island of Diu. Mahmud realising the strength of the Portuguese decided to live at peace with them and later offered them a factory at Diu. He ordered the Egyptian fleet to return and released Portuguese prisoners. Thus he failed to realise the significance of the rise of the Portuguese which ultimately proved disastrous for Gujarat. Mahmud successfully established his supremacy over Khandesh.

A warrior and a fighter, Mahmud possessed courage and determination. He enlarged the boundaries of Gujarat by successful wars against Hindu and Muslim rulers. His military exploits became known even outside the subcontinent and he was diplomatically approached in 1511 by Shah Isma'il I, the Safavid ruler of Persia. His power and might made him conspicuous in the eyes of the Sultan of Delhi who in 1510 sent an embassy to him to congratulate him on his success against Khandesh. Mahmud died in November 1511. He was a voracious eater and used to take enormous quantities of food. He required ten to fifteen seers of food daily, and for his breakfast, besides other things, he used to take 100 to 150 bananas.

Mahmud was succeeded by his son Khalil who assumed the title of Muzaffar Shah II. Muzaffar fought several battles against Rana Sanga of Mewar. Two claimants to the throne of Idar sought respectively the help of Muzaffar II and Rana Sanga of Mewar and ultimately the Gujarati army succeeded in placing their nominee over Idar. In Malwa Sultan Mahmud II was deprived of all power by his Hindu officer Medini Rai and he came to Gujarat to seek the assistance of Muzaffar II, who restored him to his throne. Medini Rai sought the assistance of Rana Sanga, who inflicted a crushing defeat on Mahmud and took him prisoner and carried him to Chittor. The war between Gujarat and Chittor continued undecided. It was now Muzaffar's turn to send an

expedition to Mewar, which, though initially successful, did not produce any tangible results. Muzaffar died in 1526 and was succeeded by his son Bahadur. He was a brave warrior and embarked upon a career of conquest. He foiled the Portuguese attempts to capture Diu. He saved the rulers of Khandesh and Berar from encroachments on their territories by Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. He conquered Mandu in 1531 and attacked Chittor in 1534. The Mughul Emperor Humayun invaded Gujarat, drove away Bahadur, and Gujarat was occupied by the Mughuls who however could not retain it for long. Bahadur returned to his kingdom and now had to contend with the Portuguese who proved to be his deadliest enemies, and, while on a visit to the governor on the latter's invitation, he was killed (1537). The greatness of Gujarat ended with him.

The Sultans of Gujarat were fond of raising new buildings. The city of Ahmadabad alone boasted of one thousand mosques. The rulers of Gujarat developed a distinctive style of architecture which has many pleasant features. Sidi Saiyid's mosque has a perforated stone window which is a masterpiece.

MALWA

The Sultanate of Malwa was established by Dilawar Khan Ghuri in 1401. Sultan Mahmud of the House of Tughluq spent three years in Malwa as a fugitive. It was after the return of the Delhi Sultan that Dilawar assumed independence. He died in 1405 and was succeeded by his son Alp Khan who assumed the title of Hushang Shah. He was taken to Gujarat as a captive by Muzaffar Shah who, however, subsequently reinstated him in Malwa. Hushang transferred the capital of Malwa from Dhar to Mandu. He was a sworn enemy of Gujarat and never missed an opportunity of attacking that country.

In 1422 Ahmad Shah of Gujarat invaded Malwa but failing to achieve anything retreated. Hushang invaded Gwalior in 1422 but he raised the siege when the Sultan of Delhi, Mubarak Shah of the Saiyid dynasty, marched against him. In 1431 Hushang marched on Kalpi. Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi also came with a large army to capture Kalpi and the two armies faced each other but the Sharqi Sultan had to return to Jaunpur on getting the news

that Mubarak Shah was marching on Jaunpur. Hushang, therefore, easily captured Kalpi. After the death of Hushang his son Muhammad Shah succeeded him but his wazir Mahmud Khalaji had murdered him and proclaimed himself Sultan on 16 May 1436. Hushang's dynasty was supplanted by the Khalaji dynasty.

Mahmud Khalaji enlarged the territory of Malwa under whom it became a powerful and prosperous kingdom. He fought ceaseless wars against the rulers of Rajputana, Gujarat, and the Bahmani kingdom. He spent the greater part of his life in military camps. In 1440 he was invited by several nobles of Delhi. Mahmud proceeded towards Delhi to supplant the weak Saiyid Sultan Muhammad Shah but he returned most probably out of fear that the king of Gujarat would attack his country. Mahmud fought several wars with Rana Kumbha of Chittor but neither party could win any decisive victory although both sides claimed success by erecting towers of victory. Mahmud received an embassy from Buhlul Lodi. He died in May 1469.

Mahmud was the most powerful Sultan of Malwa. He enlarged the boundaries of his kingdom which extended in the south to the Satpura Range, in the west to the frontiers of Gujarat, in the east to Bundelkhand and in the north to Mewar. He gave a stable administration to his kingdom.

Mahmud was succeeded by his eldest son Ghiyas-ud-din who was a man of peaceful temperament. During his last days two sons fought for the throne and Nasir-ud-din came out victorious and ascended the throne in 1500. Ghiyas-ud-din died a few months later. Nasir-ud-din proved an incapable ruler. He was succeeded by his son Mahmud II. Mahmud appointed Medini Rai, a Rajput noble, as wazir to curb the power of the Muslim officers, but very soon he grew restive under the powerful minister and escaped to Gujarat with his queen and a servant (1517). Mahmud accompanied by Muzaffar returned to Malwa and captured Mandu. Medini Rai in conjunction with Rana Sanga attacked Malwa and defeated Mahmud whom the Rana, however, restored to the throne. The Sultan led an attack against Chittor and in retaliation Rana Ratansingha advanced upto Ujjain. Mahmud offended Bahadur Shah of Gujarat by granting an asylum to a rival of the latter. Bahadur invaded Malwa and

occupied Mandu in May 1531. Mahmud was taken prisoner but was killed while trying to escape in 1531. Malwa as an independent kingdom ceased to exist.

The city of Mandu now in ruins was located on a hill and contains the remains of many beautiful buildings including the Jami' Masjid, Hushang's tomb and several palaces.

KHANDESH

The founder of the kingdom of Khandesh was one Ahmad Faruqi who was appointed its governor by Firuz Shah. After the Sultan's death the Raja declared his independence. He married a daughter of Sultan Dilawar Shah of Malwa to his son Nasir who succeeded him. Nasir captured the fortress of Asir from a Hindu chieftain. A devoted follower of saints and holy men, Nasir built on the banks of the Tapti two new towns named Zainabad after Zain-ud-din and Burhanpur after Shaikh Burhan-ud-din.

Nasir deprived his brother Iftikhar of the latter's possession of the fort of Thalner which his father had conferred on him. Iftikhar sought the help of Ahmad Shah of Gujarat. He took this opportunity to invade Khandesh and compel Nasir to acknowledge his suzerainty by conferring on him the title of Khan. The country thus came to be known as Khandesh (country of the Khans). Although he concluded matrimonial alliance with the Bahmanids by giving his daughter in marriage to prince 'Ala-ud-din son of Ahmad Shah, he fought a confused war with his son-in-law on a complaint from his daughter that 'Ala-ud-din, now the Bahmani king, did not treat her well.

The next important ruler of Khandesh was 'Adil Khan who compelled the Hindu rajas of Gondwana and Garha Mandla to acknowledge his suzerainty. He stopped payment of annual tribute to Gujarat. Mahmud Begarha attacked Khandesh and compelled 'Adil to pay tribute (1498). 'Adil's brother Da'ud succeeded him. Da'ud sought the help of Nasir-ud-din of Malwa to drive away the Nizamshahi army which invaded Khandesh. This was achieved, but Da'ud had to acknowledge the supremacy of Malwa, and the history of this dynasty after his death in 1510 is devoid of interest.

JAUNPUR

The city of Jaunpur was founded on the river Gumti by Sultan Firuz Shah in 1359-60 while on his way to Bengal. He named it after his cousin Muhammad Jauna Khan. The city was destined to be the capital of the Sultanate of Jaunpur. The founder of the Sultanate was Malik Sarwar whom Sultan Mahmud, the last king of the House of Tughluq, appointed governor of the eastern provinces with the title of Malik-ush-Sharq. He suppressed rebellions in this region and established his authority over Awadh and the Gangetic valley up to Bihar. The rulers of Jajnagar and Lakhnauti also acknowledged his authority. The general confusion and anarchy that prevailed after Timur's invasion helped Malik Sarwar in consolidating his position. Although he was independent for all practical purposes, he never assumed royal titles. He died in 1399 and was succeeded by his adopted son Sultan Mubarak Shah (a nephew of Saiyid Khizr Khan). Mubarak issued coins and the *khutbah* was read in his name. At this Mallu Iqbal Khan, the influential minister of Sultan Mahmud, attacked Jaunpur in 1400 but scarcity of provisions compelled the parties to withdraw. Mubarak Shah Sharqi died in 1402 and was succeeded by his brother Ibrahim Shah.

Ibrahim Shah Sharqi, like his brother Mubarak, had to face an invasion of the Delhi army but as the two armies were encamped on the opposite banks of the Ganges, Sultan Mahmud of Delhi fled seeking protection of Ibrahim Sharqi from the tutelage of Mallu Iqbal Khan. But Ibrahim was lukewarm in his treatment of Mahmud, who became a fugitive king. After the death of Mallu, Mahmud returned to Delhi in 1405. Ibrahim Sharqi made, along with other nobles, a bid in 1407 to capture Delhi but news reached him of the arrival of an army from Gujarat to help the Sultan of Delhi. As a result Ibrahim had to withdraw. He disputed the possession of Biyana with Mubarak Shah, the Saiyid Sultan of Delhi, in 1427. He fought against Sultan Hushang of Malwa over Kalpi (1431), but he had to retrace his steps to Jaunpur on receiving the news of Mubarak Shah's march on Jaunpur. Thus Kalpi fell into the hands of Hushang. Ibrahim died in 1440.

Ibrahim ruled over Jaunpur for about forty years. He was a great patron of art and learning. Under him Jaunpur became the most notable centre of Muslim learning in the east. When the empire of Delhi was disintegrating and there was chaos and confusion everywhere, he provided Jaunpur with a stable government. Famous men of learning sought safety at his court where they were granted generous stipends. The most famous among them was Malik-ul-'Ulama Qazi Shihab-ud-din. Ibrahim beautified Jaunpur with fine new buildings of which the famous Atala mosque bears testimony to his refined architectural taste.

Ibrahim was succeeded by his son Mahmud Shah who is said to have intended to invade Bengal but on the Bengali Sultan's appeal to Shah-Rukh, the successor of Timur, Mahmud Shah Sharqi desisted. He fought a war with Mahmud Khalaji of Malwa over some disputed territory in Kalpi in 1441 but peace was soon restored. Mahmud Shah Sharqi brought Chunar under effective subjection and also raided Orissa. Like his father he received an invitation from Delhi to go and oust Buhlul Lodi from the throne during the absence of the Lodi Sultan on his Multan expedition. The Sharqi army was however defeated because of the defection of Darya Khan Lodi, an Afghan general of Mahmud Sharqi. War again broke out between Delhi and Jaunpur over the possession of Etawah and Shamsabad, and Qutb Khan, brother-in-law of Buhlul Lodi, was taken prisoner by the Jaunpur army. At this stage Mahmud Sharqi died in 1457 and was succeeded by his son Muhammad Shah. In the renewed conflict Muhammad Shah's brother Jalal Khan was made a prisoner by Buhlul. But Muhammad Shah Sharqi lost his life as a result of an intrigue among his brothers. Muhammad's brother, Husain, who succeeded to the throne concluded a truce by the exchange of the two royal prisoners Jalal and Qutb. Husain undertook an expedition to Orissa, the Raja of which secured peace by making valuable presents. Husain received tribute from the Raja.

Husain being urged by his wife Malikah-i-Jahan, daughter of 'Alam Shah, the last Saiyid Sultan of Delhi, led an attack on Delhi. Buhlul, who was at that time on the defensive, sought military help from Mahmud Khalaji of Malwa (1469). The Khalaji Sultan agreed on certain conditions but he died shortly

afterwards. Buhlul was thus left alone to face the Sharqi army. So precarious was the situation for Buhlul that he even offered terms agreeing to become a vassal of Jaunpur at Delhi. Husain Sharqi rejected these terms and Buhlul left the city and encamped opposite the Sharqi army. While the Jaunpur army was off its guard, the Afghans put it to flight. Husain Sharqi went to attack Delhi twice after this but on both occasions he was defeated. In 1479 he again attacked Delhi with a large army. Buhlul put him off his guard by submitting to a peace agreement. But no sooner had Husain retraced his steps than Buhlul attacked him from the rear and took him completely by surprise. In a number of engagements Buhlul defeated Husain till at last Husain fled to Bahraich. The entire country of Jaunpur now fell into the hands of Buhlul and Husain eventually fled to Bihar. During the reign of Sikandar Lodi, Husain Sharqi instigated Sikandar's brother Barbek to rebel against him but ultimately he fled to Bengal where Sultan 'Ala-ud-din Husain Shah granted him an asylum.

KASHMIR

The Sultanate of Kashmir was founded by one Shah Mirza or Shah Mir, an adventurer who came from Swat to Kashmir in 1313 and entered the service of its ruler, Suhadeva, who was overthrown by a Tibetan named Rinchana. Tradition has it that Rinchana embraced Islam and assumed the name of Sadr-ud-din. There was great confusion after the death of Rinchana and Shah Mirza ascended the throne in or about 1339 with the title of Shams-ud-din. He gave peace and prosperity to Kashmir after a period of turmoil, abolished arbitrary taxes and fixed the revenue at one-sixth of the produce. Shams-ud-din died in 1349. After the death of Shams-ud-din four of his sons ruled over Kashmir one after another. His son 'Ali Sher entitled 'Ala-ud-din reigned peacefully for twelve years and was succeeded by Shihab-ud-din who was a great conqueror. He extended the boundaries of Kashmir in all directions. He conquered Wahind and defeated the Jam of Sind on the bank of the Indus.He gained a victory over the Afghans at Peshawar and advanced as far as the Hindu Kush. Proceeding to the south he established a

cantonment on the banks of the Sutlaj. Here the ruler of Nagarkot, returning with vast booty surrendered to him a part of his spoils. The king of Tibet also waited upon the Sultan.

The next important ruler of Kashmir was Sikandar, a nephew of Shihab-ud-din. It was during his reign that Timur invaded the subcontinent of Pakistan and India. A large number of Muslims attracted by the generosity of the Sultan came to Kashmir from Muslim countries, such as, Persia, Arabia and Mesopotamia and gradually changed the complexion of the country. Muslims entered the service of the state in large numbers. Amir Kabir Saiyid Ali Hamadani, a writer and saint from Iran also came to Kashmir with a large number of his followers and he launched a movement for the propagation of Islam in the valley. The Sultan's *wazir*, a convert named Sinhabhat, instigated the Sultan to break idols of Hindu gods and goddesses. The Sultan did it enthusiastically and won the title of *but-shikan* (Iconoclast). Sikandar also tried to prevent the custom of burning widows with their dead husbands. Sikandar died in 1416. He was succeeded by his son 'Ali Shah. Another son of Sikandar, Shahi Khan ascended the throne in 1420 under the title of Zain-ul-'Abidin. He was the greatest of the Sultans of Kashmir. He enlarged the boundaries of his kingdom by conquering Gandhara, Sindhu, Madra and Rajapur. He was assisted in his campaigns by Jasrat Khokhar.

Zain-ul-'Abidin reversed the policy of his father by pursuing a policy of toleration of all religions, and by allowing temples to be reconstructed. He abolished *jiziyah* on non-Muslims and patronised Hindu learning. Himself a learned man knowing Persian, Sanskrit, Tibetan and other languages he had many Persian and Arabic works translated into the Kashmiri language. He ordered Persian translations of *Mahabharata* and *Rajtarangini*. He extended patronage to Hindu and Muslim scholars, poets and religious men. He was fond of music and other fine arts. There was peace and prosperity. He founded new cities, built many bridges and dug many irrigation canals. He gave tax relief to his subjects and administered even-handed justice. He maintained friendly relations with many contemporary rulers. Babur's grandfather Abu Sa'id, ruler of Khurasan, Buhlul Lodi,

Sultan of Delhi, Jahan Shah of Azarbaijan and Gilan, Sultan Mahmud Begarha of Gujarat, the Mamluk rulers of Egypt, the Sharif of Makka, Jam Nizam-ud-din of Sind, the Hindu Raja of Gwalior exchanged letters and presents with Zain-ul-'Abidin. He died in 1470.

The history of Kashmir after the death of Zain-ul-'Abidin is full of revolutions, anarchy and confusion. The kings were mere puppets in the hands of powerful nobles. During the reign of Fath Khan (1486-1516), a grandson of Zain-ul-'Abidin, a significant event in the religious history of Kashmir took place. A preacher named Shams-ud-din, who claimed to be a disciple of Saiyid Nur Baksh of Khurasan, came from Iran to Kashmir and established the Nur Bakhshi order. His doctrines were akin to those of Isma'ilis although these did not conform strictly to either Shi'ite or Sunni tenets. The Chak tribe in Kashmir adopted his teachings and from that time Shi'i-Sunni differences started in Kashmir. Mirza Haidar, a cousin of Babur conquered Kashmir in 1541. After some time the Chak dynasty came to power. Akbar conquered Kashmir from this dynasty in 1586.

THE BAHMANID SULTANATE

The story of the establishment of the Bahmani state has been already related. The first Sultan 'Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah, popularly known as Hasan Gangu Zafar Khan, claimed descent from Bahman, son of Isfandiyar, and his title Gangu, according to some scholars, was derived from Gangi, a dependency of Miraj where Hasan lived with his mother in his early life. Soon after his coronation Bahman Shah selected Gulbarga as his capital. He sent several expeditions to subjugate minor Hindu chieftains in the Deccan. Isma'il Mukh, who abdicated in his favour, was given a *jāgir*, but he was poisoned by a Hindu chief. The Sultan consolidated his position and, at the time of his death, his kingdom stretched from Elichpur in the north to the river Krishna in the south and from the sea on the west to the frontiers of the Hindu kingdom of Warangal on the east. With the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar which lay to the south and south-west war started in the next reign. Bahman Shah divided his kingdom into four provinces (*taraf*) namely, Gulbarga, Daul-

atabad (the famous metropolis of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq), Berar and Bidar. He died in 1358 and was succeeded by his son Muhammad Shah.

Muhammad Shah organised the administration on sound lines and entrusted the affairs of the state to eight ministers.

The establishment of the Bahmani Kingdom encouraged the Hindu rulers of the Deccan and they sought to crush the Sultanate. When Muhammad Shah decided to issue gold coins of his own, as his sovereignty demanded, it was resented by the rajas of Vijayanagar and Warangal, for they feared that the circulation of their gold coins in the region would be eclipsed. As a retaliatory measure they demanded from Muhammad cession of certain parts of his territory—Bukka of Vijayanagar demanded Raichur Doab and the ruler of Warangal demanded the fortress of Kaulas. Muhammad, on the other hand, claimed that the Hindu rajas should send him presents as they were his vassals. In reply the Rajas made a concerted attack on the Bahmani territories. The allied forces were defeated by Bahadur Khan who pursued the Raja of Warangal and compelled him to pay tribute. By another surprise attack Muhammad killed a young prince of Warangal. The Raja now made overtures to Firuz Shah at Delhi for assistance but in vain. Muhammad Shah made another attack on Telingana and compelled the Raja to pay a large amount of money and cede Golconda. The Raja also presented a turquoise throne which henceforth came to be used as the Bahmani throne.

This was followed by a war with Vijayanagar. The immediate cause of this war was the sending of an envoy by Muhammad Shah to Bukka demanding a large sum of money and the Raja's humiliation of the envoy. The Raja took the offensive and marched into the Sultan's territory and ravaged the country between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra rivers. The fort of Mudgal was captured. The Sultan led the attack on Vijayanagar with a large army and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Hindus. After considerable fighting peace was concluded and the river Krishna was fixed as the boundary between the two kingdoms (1365). Muhammad Shah reigned for the remaining part of his life in peace and prosperity. He also established artillery in his

kingdom. He completed the great mosque of Gulbarga. He died in 1375.

The short reign of Muhammad Shah's son and successor Mujahid (1375-1378) witnessed a renewed conflict with Vijayanagar over the disputed territory of Raichur-Doab but the result being inconclusive the Sultan returned to Gulbarga, where he, being essentially a man of peace, devoted himself to literature and art. He attracted to his court men of piety and learning. One Faizullah Anju, a learned divine of his time, was his *Sadr-us-sudur*. It was at the instance of this learned man, who was originally from Shiraz, that Muhammad Shah II, like his Bengali contemporary Ghiyas-ud-din 'Azam Shah (1389-1409), sent an invitation to the great poet Hafiz to visit his court. The poet accepted the invitation but on his way he was discouraged by a severe storm in the Persian Gulf and returned to Shiraz. He sent his excuses to Faizullah in verse. The invitation by the Bengali Sultan perhaps reached a little later, for the poet this time shrank from the hazards of the journey and excused himself, sending a ghazal to the Sultan. Sultan Muhammad Shah II was himself a learned man and was nicknamed Aristotle by his subjects. He was greatly interested in the welfare of his subjects and when a great famine occurred during his reign he procured grain for them from Gujarat and Malwa. The Sultan established schools for orphans throughout his dominions. He died in 1397.

A day after the death of Muhammad, Saif-ud-din Ghuri, the illustrious wazir since the days of Bahman Shah, also died. This gave rise to a confused situation in which the leader of the Turkish slaves, Tughalchin, played a predominant part.

The next important ruler was Firuz Shah, a cousin of Muhammad Shah II, who ruled for twenty-five years (1397-1422). Hostilities with Vijayanagar were resumed when in 1398 the Raja attacked Raichur-Doab with a vast army. The sheer numerical superiority of the Raja's army acted as a deterrant on Firuz's men who remained encamped on the northern bank of the Krishna. The chroniclers relate how a Qazi together with a few companions crossed the river and in the guise of dancers and musicians displayed sword and dagger dances in the Raja's camp and suddenly cut down the spectators including a prince and fled in the darkness.

In the confusion that followed the Sultan's army crossed the river and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Hindus. The second Bahmani campaign against Vijayanagar in 1406 had its origin in king Devaraya's love for a unique beauty in Mudgal but it ended, ironically enough, in his daughter's marriage with the Sultan. In 1420 it was the Sultan who took the offensive but the expedition ended in a failure because of the outbreak of pestilence in his army. Mir Faizullah Shirazi was killed and a large number of Muslims massacred. Towards the end of his life the Sultan's brother Ahmad compelled Firuz to abdicate. He died in 1422.

An enlightened ruler, Firuz was fond of music and took delight in holding learned discourses with philosophers, poets and historians. He was interested in astronomy and built an observatory near Daulatabad. He laid the foundations of the city of Firuzabad. During his reign overseas trade developed through some sea-ports of his kingdom. He was a calligrapher and it is said that he "supported himself by copying the Quran" and the ladies of his household used to support themselves "by embroidering garments and selling them." During the reign of Ahmad Shah (1422-1436) the war with Vijayanagar was resumed and Raja Devaraya II was defeated. The Raja of Warangal was also defeated and killed and Warangal was finally annexed to the Bahmani kingdom (1425). This extension of the kingdom to the east necessitated the transfer of the capital to Bidar. Ahmad Shah also started a war with the Muslim rulers of Malwa and Gujarat. He was succeeded by his son 'Ala-ud-din II, who built a magnificent dome over the grave of his father. His reign opened as usual with a war with Vijayanagar as a result of which king Devaraya II agreed to pay annual tribute. 'Ala-ud-din also subdued the Hindu chiefs of the Konkan region. His reign is famous for a great hospital that he established in Bidar. Large endowments were made for the maintenance of the hospital which was staffed by Hindu and Muslim physicians. It was during his reign that the Sultan was persuaded by the Deccan nobles to pass an order to harass the foreign nobles consisting mainly of people from Iran, Turkey, Central Asia and Afghanistan. It was also during his reign that Mahmud Gawan who became famous as a scholar, statesman and administrator came into prominence.

A series of weak rulers followed after the death of 'Ala-ud-din II and although the administration was conducted efficiently by Makhdumah-i-Jahan, wife of Humayun, Mahmud Gawan and Khwaja Jahan, but the rivalry and intrigue between the Deccani and foreign nobles could not be checked. Mahmud Gawan, a Persian who rose to be Prime Minister during the reign of Muhammad Shah III, not only extended the boundaries of the Bahmani kingdom but also tried to maintain a balance between the Deccanis and the foreigners. Malik Hasan Nizam-ul-Mulk, leader of the Deccani party, became jealous of his position and with the help of a forged letter in which Mahmud Gawan was alleged to have invited the king of Orissa to attack Bahmani kingdom, Nizam-ul-Mulk Hasan managed to have him executed by the Sultan (5 April 1481). Nizam-ul-Mulk was now appointed Malik Naib.

Mahmud Gawan was a most remarkable man. He was a rich merchant before he became minister. He was a literary man and corresponded with Maulana Jami and other famous men of his age. He lived like a faqir, sleeping on a mat and spending the greater part of the night in prayers. He would go out after *'isha* prayers and distribute money to the poor and needy. When he died, in spite of his reputation for fabulous wealth, only the money needed for distribution to the poor that night was found in his house. The Sultan was sorry for his hasty action in executing Gawan. After his death the Bahmani Sultanate declined rapidly.

During the reign of Mahmud (1482-1518), son and successor of of Muhammad, Malik Naib Hasan was murdered by the Abyssinan governor of Bidar and the tables were again turned against the Deccanis, who now conspired to kill the king himself. But the king assembled his foreign troops and for three days they inflicted terrible losses on the people. Chaos and confusion followed and forces of disintegration set to work. When the last of the Bahmani Sultan Kalimullah died (1538) the Bahmani dynasty came to an end after a glorious career of 177 years, and the Sultanate was split into five independent monarchies, namely, the Barid Shahi dynasty of Bidar, the 'Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur, the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar, the 'Imad Shahi dynasty of Berar and the Qutb Shahi dynasty of Golkunda.

The establishment of the Bahmani Sultanate in the Deccan forms an important chapter in the history of Muslim rule in the subcontinent. Athanasus Nikitin, the Russian traveller who visited Bidar about 1470 describes it as "the chief town of the whole of Mohammadan Hindustan". He found the country populous, the lands well-cultivated, the roads safe from robbers and the capital a magnificent city with parks and promenades. The Bahmani rulers were all patrons of art and learning. Many fine and beautiful buildings were constructed in Bidar.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

The breakdown of the central authority of Delhi was a setback to the cause of Islam in the subcontinent. The independence of the Deccan under the Bahmanids resulted in the establishment of the vigorous Hindu empire of Vijayanagar which retarded the spread of Islam in that area. Under the Khalajis and the first two monarchs of the House of Tughluq the South had been brought under Muslim rule, but it reverted to Hindu rule because Muslim power became weak. In North India the Rajputs became so strong under Rana Sanga that he crossed swords with his Muslim neighbours on equal terms. The Bahmanids did not find it easy to reduce Warangal. In Bengal, for a while, Muslim rule went into eclipse and was saved only be Providence. The greatest disaster was the success of the Portuguese in gaining foot-holds in Muslim territories. In particular the treacherous assassination of Bahadur Shah of Gujarat and the seizure of Goa from the 'Adil Shahi territories and the massacre of its Muslim population would not have gone unpunished if the Muslims had been united and vigorously sustained and supported a central authority. The English had been more securely established than the Portuguese when their contumacy was severely punished by 'Alamgir I. And it should be remembered that the growth of the Portuguese power in the Indian Ocean was the beginning of the decline of the Muslim powers in Asia and Africa.

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CHAPTER XI

Administration, Society and Culture

Administration

In enunciating the theory of the state and sovereignty the jurists and political philosophers of Islam drew upon the Quran, the tradition of the Prophet and historical precedents. The Holy Quran enjoins unity, equality before law, obedience to constituted authority and consultation in the affairs of the community. The Prophet was, from the beginning of his mission, the natural spiritual and temporal leader of his people and when the community began to grow into a nascent state, the government was centred around him. After his death, whereas no one could succeed to his prophetic functions, the need for leading the organised community and managing its affairs demanded the election of a successor, *khalifah*. The election of Abu Bakr as the first caliph established the principle of election by the leading people at the capital and acceptance by the people at large. Abu Bakr also upheld the principle of the indivisibility of the Muslim world. The Caliphate, which was a political institution, was regarded by the Muslim jurists as a religious necessity as well, because, without political organisation, the Muslim community could not discharge its duties and functions.

Authority was needed to enforce what is ordained and to prevent what is forbidden. Thus enforcement of the law of the *shar'iah* was one of the duties of the caliph. The *shar'iah* was based on the Quran, the *hadis* and the interpretation of these through the application of reason. A consensus was needed to give an interpretation the force of law. As basically this law was based on revelation and, therefore, of divine origin, the *shar'iah* was the sovereign and the caliph was its servant and minister. He was as subsurvient to it as any other citizen of the realm. In the course of time, the unity of the Muslim world was destroyed although its semblance was sought to be maintained by the fiction of recognition by the Caliph of the otherwise independent rulers. The principles of election and consultation lost their real significance though the forms were maintained for a long period of time.

The Sultan of Delhi owed nominal allegiance to the Abbasid caliph, although he was for all practical purposes independent. The names of the Abbasid caliphs were read in the *khutbah* and mentioned on the coinage. From the legal point of view the caliphate was considered so important that after the fall of Baghdad and the abolition of the Abbasid Caliphate by the Mongols, the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt reinstalled a scion of the Abbasid Family as a caliph and a new line of Egyptian Abbasid caliphs continued to exist until the last of them abdicated in favour of the Ottoman sultan in 1517. Muhammad bin Tughluq established relations with the Abbasid caliphs. The Sultans of Delhi, with the exception of Mubarak Shah and possibly of his father 'Ala-ud-din Khalaji who styled themselves as caliphs, recognised the suzerainty of the caliph. Within his own dominion the sultan enjoyed the same authority and performed the same functions as the caliph. The functions of the sultan according to Muslim jurists are the protection of the faith, the settlement of disputes, the defence of the realm of Islam, the enforcement of law, the collection of taxes and welfare of the people. The non-Muslims enjoyed the status of protected peoples on payment of taxes and they were guaranteed freedom of worship and administration of their social and religious laws.

The sultan like the caliph was subordinate to the *shar'iah* and was dependent on the support of the soldiery, the nobility,

the civil services and the *'ulama*—the five principal pillars of the state. The passive support of the people in general, both Hindus and Muslims, who were by no means timid or docile, was an important factor in the efficacy of the authority of the sultan. The legal form of election was also maintained in the choice of the sultan. The nobles and the *'ulama* at the capital first agreed upon a candidate and later a formal oath of allegiance was taken by the people. Although the choice was normally limited to the ruling house, succession was never strictly hereditary. Because the Muslim empire in the subcontinent was faced with grave problems weaklings were not tolerated as sultans and there were several dynastic changes. The issue was sometimes decided by a victory in the battlefield after which formal recognition came. Great pomp and pageantry were maintained at court. Public assemblies were held to transact business of general nature while in private audiences ministers and nobles were consulted. The palace and the household of the sultan required the services of a large number of officers besides the body-guard of the sultan, his personal attendants and the palace guards. The household was headed by the *wakil-i-dar*. The office of *amir hajib*, also styled as *barbek*, was also important. He was the master of ceremonies and had several *hajibs* as his assistants. A large number of *karkhanahs* were maintained for the manufacture of robes of honour, arms, engines of war and articles for court use. The royal stables were looked after by the *akhurbek*, who often wielded great influence at court.

The most important person in the state next to the Sultan was the chief minister called *wazir*. He was in charge of the entire fiscal administration of the realm and all matters relating to income and expenditure came under his purview directly or indirectly. The entire system of agrarian administration was under him. He appointed the revenue officials, organised the collection of revenue and controlled the state expenditure. His department was known as *diwan-i-wizarat*. Sometimes he was assisted by a *na'ib* (deputy). Next to him were the *mushrif-i-mumalik*, the accountant-general and the *mustaufi-i-mumalik* who was the auditor-general. Both these officers held ministerial rank and had direct access to the monarch.

Besides the *wazir* there were three other important ministers.

who together with him formed the four pillars of state. The first was the *sadr-us-sudur* who was also the *qazi-i-mumalik*. In his former capacity he dealt with religious affairs, pious foundations and annuities to scholars and men of piety. As *qazi-i-mumalik* he was the highest judge of the Empire and controlled the department of justice. Next was the *'ariz-i-mumalik*, the controller-general of the military department. His office maintained the descriptive rolls of men and horses and he himself was the inspector-general of the forces. He supervised the recruitment of new soldiers and fixed their pay. The third minister was the *munshi-i-mumalik* who dealt with the entire state correspondence with the help of a large number of *dabirs*. The *barid-i-mumalik* who was the head of post and intelligence departments also held an important rank. His ubiquitous agents kept him and through him the sultan informed of all happenings of importance in the state. This system not only insured the obedience of the provincial and local officers but also safeguarded the interests of the common people against unscrupulous governors and officials. A noble of high status was nominated *na'ib-ul-mulk* or lord-lieutenant of the Empire. While at times he exercised absolute authority like Balban, under stronger rulers the office was merely honorific.

The revenue structure of the Empire followed the Islamic traditions inherited from the Ghaznawids. Only in the details of agrarian administration it was modified in accordance with local needs and practices. The state demand on agricultural produce was the main source of income. The three methods of assessment were 'sharing', 'appraisement' and 'measurement'. The first was simple crop-division, the second the appraisal of the quantity or value of the state demand on the basis of probable crop-yield and the third was the fixation of the demand on the basis of actual measurement of land. This system was based on schedules of mean produce per unit area in homogeneous localities. The general rate of state-demand was a fifth of the produce which was raised to one-half by 'Ala-ud-din Khalaji. The revenue could be paid in cash or in kind. Among other sources of income were import duties, the *ghanimah* (or state-share in the spoils of war), the imposts on mines and treasure-troves. *Jiziyah* was levied on non-Muslims "in return for which they received protection of life and property and exemp-

tion from military service". The rate varied according to the income of the assessee. Women, children, the old, the blind and the mendicants, monks and priests were exempt. Those Hindus who were in Government service did not pay *jiziyah*. There is evidence to show that cultivators did not pay this tax. The fact that *jiziyah* never brought any great income to the state would prove that the assessment was lenient and payment was not enforced rigorously. Muslims are expected to pay *zakat*, though it does not come to the coffers of the State. Village headmen helped the local officials in the collection of taxes and received a commission. There were also tributary chiefs whose obligation to the State fluctuated in proportion to the strength of the central Government. Officials in far-flung areas were often paid in the form of assignments of the revenue accruing from certain areas called *iqta'*.

The constant threat of Mongol invasions necessitated the maintenance of a strong and effective army. We have already mentioned the steps taken by Balban and 'Ala-ud-din Khalaji to raise and maintain a large standing army. The cavalry was the most important part of the army. It was the lack of good cavalry in the armies of the Hindu rajas which led to their defeat and subjugation. Elephants soon began to play an important part in the army of the sultans. There were foot-soldiers (*pa'iks*) but their role was not as important as that of the cavalry. The use of gunpowder also came to be known towards the end of the period. A corps of engineers was maintained to act as sappers and miners. Every army had a corps of well-trained scouts and a unit of surgeons and ambulances. In the medieval defence system forts were of great importance. The time-honoured system of the division of the army into five parts— the centre, the right and left wings, the vanguard and the rear guard—was also followed by the Muslim army. Elephants stood in the front preceded by four lines of infantry and archers with gaps for the cavalry to ride out. There were quite a large number of Hindus in the army of the sultans.

The army was administered by the *'ariz-i-mumalik* whose duty it was to keep up the strength and the efficiency of the army and to provide equipment, horses and ration. His office maintained the descriptive roll of each soldier. He disbursed salaries to the troops.

Even officers of the court who held military rank received salaries from his office. He was not the commander-in-chief of the army but was its controller-general. He exercised great influence in the State.

The sultan exercised three functions which dealt with the administration of justice. He was the arbitrator in the disputes among his subjects. He was the head of the government and also commander-in-chief of the armed forces. In his first capacity he dispensed justice through the *diwan-i-qaza,* in the second capacity through the *diwan-i-mazalim* and in the third capacity he or his military commander dealt with rebellion and treason. For this purpose Muhammad bin Tughluq organised a separate department called *diwan-i-siyasat* which included qualified jurists to advise the sultan on the legal aspects of cases under trial. It was prerogative of the sultan to order the execution of a criminal and no sentence of capital punishment could be implemented without a reference to the sultan.

The *mazalim* courts dealt with complaints against officials. The sultans of Delhi generally sat twice a week as a *mazalim* court. The *qazi-i-mumalik* sat with the sultan to give him legal advice. Individual complainants came with their petitions and were ushered in the presence of the sultan. Even when the sultan rode out petitions could be presented to him by suitors. The governors in the provinces were required to sit as *mazalim* courts. They associated the provincial *diwan* and the provincial *qazi* with themselves.

The chief concern of the *diwan-i-qaza* was civil and criminal litigation. The head of the *diwan-i-qaza* was the *qazi-i-mumalik* also known as *qazi-ul-quzat.* The chief *qazi* heard appeals from the lower courts and appointed the local *qazis.* Almost every town in the empire had its *qazi.* In the beginning of the Caliphate he was concerned with the settlement of disputes but later management of the property of orphans, execution of wills and testaments and supervision of the *awqaf* (pious foundations) were added to the list of his duties. The *qazis* were directly appointed by the *qazi-ul-quzat* and were completely independent of the governors. In civil cases non-Muslims had the freedom to be governed by their personal law. But they could go to a Muslim court of their

own choice. In all cases where the litigants differed in religion the case was taken to a Muslim court. When the two parties belonged to the same religion the court applied their personal law and when the litigants happened to be non-Muslims the court took the advice of men learned in the law. When they belonged to two different religions, the court decided on principles of equity.

An important officer associated with justice in the early days of Muslim rule was *amir-i-dad.* In the capital he was an influential officer often participating in high politics. 'Ali Isma'il, the first *amir-i-dad* of Delhi, was the head of the group of nobles who invited Iltutmish to come to Delhi. In the absence of the sultan, *amir-i-dad* presided over the *mazalim* court; in the presence of the sultan, he was responsible for its executive and administrative business. The *amir-i-dad* had his assistants in the provinces and with the army. He looked after the executive side of justice. The *qazi's* function was to find out facts and apply the law. The responsibility of summoning or bringing the accused or the witnesses to the court or the execution of the decision of the *qazi* was the duty of the *amir-i-dad.*

The *kotwals*, as the head of the city police, also discharged the duties of a court of first instance in criminal cases. The *muhtasib* was regarded as the upholder of public morals and protector of the rights of the weak against the strong. It was his duty to see that there was no open transgression of the *shari'ah* such as drinking, gambling and other acts of indecency or public violations of *shari'ah.* He supervised the markets and inspected weights and measures. The provincial *diwans* appointed by the sultan on the recommendation of the *wazir* submitted detailed statement of provincial accounts. The provincial *'ariz* was appointed and controlled by the *'ariz-i-mumalik.* The provinces were under governors. The smaller provinces were under *muqti's.* Provinces like Bengal were either treated as vassal kingdoms or were under *walis* who had wider powers. The rest of the provincial government was organized on the pattern of the central government. Each provincial department was under the control of the corresponding department at the centre. The Provincial *diwans*, appointed by the sultan on the recommendation of the *wazir*, submitted detailed statements of provincial accounts. The provincial *'ariz* was appointed and

controlled by the *'ariz-i-mumalik*. The provinces were divided into *shiqqs* and *shiqqs* into *parganahs*. The *shiqqs* were under *shiqqdars* who were assisted by a supervisory staff for the assessment of the state demand on agricultural produce. The *parganah* was headed by a *mutasarrif* who was also called an *'amil*. He was assisted by a registrar of demands and accounts and an assessment staff. The *mutasarrif* and his staff were helped by a *chaudhari* and every village had a headman and a keeper of village records, the *patwari*. In their villages, the headman also performed police duties and they were also expected to keep the roads safe for the travellers.

Cultural Development

The mantle of Ghazni fell on Lahore which became known as "Smaller Ghazni" and later Delhi fell heir to the cultural traditions of Ghazni and Lahore. After the destruction of Baghdad by the Mongols in 1258 Delhi became perhaps the most important cultural centre in the Muslim East. When the centres of learning in Central and Western Asia were destroyed Delhi became the bulwark of Muslim power; it then afforded refuge to Muslim men of talent who came in increasingly larger numbers and added to the splendour of the court of Delhi. Balban had great regard for these distinguished refugees. The next reign famous for patronage of men of letters was that of 'Ala-ud-din Khalaji. Muhammad bin Tughluq and Firuz Shah were also patrons of learning. The cultural life of the Sultanate received a fresh stimulus during the reign of Sikandar Lodi. It is on the foundations laid by the sultans of Delhi that the great edifice of cultural development was built up by the Mughul rulers.

Literature

Persian was the court-language as well as the language of culture under the Sultans who were great patrons of learning. While the early men of letters still followed the trans-Indus tradition, local tradition began to take shape with Amir Khusraw. To the former group belonged Sadid-ud-din Muhammad 'Aufi and Muhammad bin Mansur Quraishi generally known as Fakhr-i-Mudabbir. 'Aufi (*circa* 1172-1242), a native of Bukhara came to Lahore and then moved to Uchh where he joined the brilliant

court of Qubachah. He wrote *Lubab-ul-albab*, a collection of biographies of Persian poets. His monumental work was the *Jawami'-ul-hikayat*, a great store-house of anecdotes. After the death of Qubachah, 'Aufi moved to Delhi where he received the patronage of *Nizam-ul-mulk Junaidi*, the *wazir* of Iltutmish. 'Aufi also translated the famous collection of short stories entitled *al-Faraj ba'd-ush-shiddat*.

Fakhr-i-Mudabbir was the author of *Adab-ul-muluk*, a book on the art of government and war. The most distinguished writer of the period was Amir Khusraw (1253-1325). He retained his eminent position at court under six successive rulers of Delhi starting with Balban. He played a major role in the development of Indo-Pakistani music. His *ghazals* earned him wide fame. His *masnawis* are some of the finest in Persian literature. He was also among the earliest Hindi poets amongst the Muslims. Khusraw's friend Amir Hasan Sijzi was another important poet of the age. Jami in his *Baharistan* praises Hasan. The table-talk of Nizam-ud-din Auliya written by Hasan is regarded as a classic of the period. Badr of Chach, a poet of repute flourished at the court of Muhammad-bin-Tughluq. Zia Nakhshabi (d. 1350) wrote simple and eloquent prose. His *Tutinamah* and *Silk-us-Suluk* are well-known.

The most important contribution made by the Muslims was in the field of history. The art of historiography was introduced by Muslim writers in the subcontinent. We owe to the Muslim historians several well written histories. These historians of the period include Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, Hasan Nizami, Minhaj-us-Siraj, 'Afif, Khusraw, Yahya and 'Isami. Most of them wrote from personal knowledge of events as they were holding high official positions and themselves participated in some of the events of the time.

Side by side with Persian, Sanskrit, the classical language of the Hindus, also flourished. Mithila, Gujarat, Rajputana and Navadip in Bengal became important centres of Sanskrit learning. There was an abundant growth of religious and philosophical literature. Poetry and drama also flourished. The Jains produced a vast mass of religious and secular literature. Hindu religious life found a vigorous expression in the *bhakti* movement. Under the impact of Islam, Hinduism underwent transformation and produced religious theories which assimilated many features of Islam in their thought.

Most spectacular literary development took place in the domain of regional languages. It was on account of the active patronage of the Muslim sultans that regional languages developed into vehicles of thought. The Brahmins who cultivated Sanskrit threatened those who studied other languages with divine punishment. If a person heard the eighteen *puranas* of the *Ramayana* recited in Bengali he would be thrown into *Raurava* (hell). The Muslim sultans of Bengal appointed scholars to translate the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* from Sanskrit into Bengali. Husain Shah's governor of Chittagong, Paragal Khan had *Mahabharata* translated into Bengali by Kabindra Paramishvara. Chhuti Khan, son of Paragal Khan, was instrumental in arranging another translation of the *Mahabharata* by Shri Kara Nandi. As a result of the patronage of the sultans of Bengal, Bengali became a vehicle for conveying the religious ideas of both Hindus and Muslims. Persian, however, had the place of pride in Bengal and was cultivated both by the Muslims and the Hindus. Hindi as a language of literary expression also developed during Muslim rule. It has already been mentioned that Amir Khusraw, the most distinguished literary figure of the period, composed Hindi poems as well. Among the early Hindi poets the most prominent was Chandbardai, the author of *Prithvi raja Rasan*. Jagaayak wrote *Alhakhand* which presents a picture of Rajput life in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Some of the leaders of the Bhakti movement wrote in Hindi. Kabir, the founder of Kabir Panthi sect, wrote in popular Hindi which had great mass appeal. In the south Marathi, Tamil and Telegu languages developed. Indeed the Sultanate period was an age of great literary renaissance.

Medicine

Medicine as practised and patronised in the Sultanate period by the Muslims was the *Yunani* system of medicine although the Indian Ayurvedic system existed side by side. Barani mentions the names of prominent physicians of the time of Balban and 'Ala-ud-din Khalaji. Foremost among those who flourished in his reign were Maulana Badr-ud-din and Maulana Hamid Mutris, both originally came from Baghdad. Both of them were practising physicians as well as teachers of medicine. Barani also mentions

Hindu physicians like Man Ghandra and Raja, the surgeon. Among the earliest extant works on medicine was *Majmu'a-i-Zia'i* written by Zia Muhammad during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq. Avicenna's *Qanun* was an important text on medicine throughout the entire period. Muslim writers and practitioners also drew upon local and indigenous sources. That medicine was a living science is evidenced by the fact that important books like the *Tibb-i-Firuz Shahi* and *Rahat-ul-Insan* were dedicated to Firuz Shah. In Kashmir books on medicine entitled *Kifayah-i-Mujahidiya* and *Tashrih-i-Mansuri* were composed during the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-'Abidin. During the reign of Sikandar Lodi *Tibb-i-Sikandari* was written by his *wazir*, Mian Buhwah. The author freely drew upon the works of ancient Hindu authors. This book remained the standard textbook on medicine in the subcontinent for a long time.

Education

The government took keen interest in the establishment of necessary institutions of learning. Education was free and widespread. Individual scholars and men of learning also received grants from the state to enable them to carry on teaching in specialised branches of learning to students who flocked round them because of their eminence. For advanced students universities and colleges called *madrasahs* were set up by sultans and public spirited persons. Only the names of a few famous ones have come down to us. Their extent can be gauged by the fact that Ibn Battutah found a thousand institutions of higher learning in the city of Delhi alone.

Music

Music also received the patronage of the Muslims. They brought with them well developed traditions which they succeeded in mingling with the native forms, thus producing a greatly improved school of music and changing Indian music beyond recognition. Amir Khusraw introduced several new airs into Indian music and is highly regarded as a creative expert in the art. Before the impact of the Muslims Indian music was devotional and mostly confined to occasions and places of worship. The Muslims secularised it and introduced an element of joy into it and thus

transformed both the form and the spirit. Khusraw also developed *qawwali* which was used by many sufis in their seances for producing ecstasy.

During the reign of Husain Shah Sharqi music received a great impetus. The Sultan is himself regarded as the founder of the *Khayal* system of music which was perfected later under the Mughul Emperor Muhammad Shah. Sultan Sikandar Lodi was also a great patron of music.

Architecture

The Muslims brought with them strongly developed traditions of architecture from Central Asia. Their architecture was *arcuate*, depending upon true arches and vaulted roofs and domes. An arch is an architectural device the strength of which depends upon stones cut in a manner that they are broader on the top and narrower on the bottom. They are fixed in a way that they fit one into another with the help of a keystone at the top. A vaulted roof is an extended arch built on the same principle. A dome is a circular vaulted roof. The advantages in this system are that large spaces can be covered without hindrance, the buildings are stronger and they are more impressive. The Hindu architecture was *trabeate*, that is, it depended on the simple device of putting a beam over two pillars. Hindu buildings were, therefore, cluttered with pillars because long beams are weak and they lacked the grace of curves.

Among the characteristic Islamic elements were also the minar, the pendentive and the squinch arches, honey-combing and half-domed portals. The decorative motifs consisted of arabesques geometric patterns and conventionalized floral designs, interwoven with calligraphic writings of the Quran or inscriptions. The Muslims also used stones of different colours or painting or gilding to beautify their buildings.

Qutb-ud-din Aibek laid the foundation of the mosque of Qubbat-ul-Islam in the same year in which Delhi was conquered. Iltutmish more than doubled the size of this mosque and also built the Qutb Minar. In Aibek's days Muslim architects were in short supply. Besides, the needs being pressing materials from old Hindu buildings had to be used. Therefore, Hindu elements were

predominant in his buildings. But Iltutmish's buildings were in Islamic style. Balban's preoccupations with the Mongol menace prevented him from undertaking any large scale building projects. The Mongol invasions gave a great impetus to art and architecture. Many master architects and artisans sought shelter in Delhi and they very soon changed the whole pattern of Indo-Muslim architecture. The flowering of Muslim architecture took place after the arrival of these refugees. 'Ala-ud-din Khalaji made additions to the Qubbat-ul-Islam mosque, excavated a huge tank called Hauzi-i-'Alai extending over seventy acres and built a *madrasah* named after him. The Jama'at Khanah mosque at the dargah of Nizam-ud-din Auliya is the earliest surviving example of a mosque in the subcontinent in perfect Muslim style. The famous 'Alai Darwaza at the Qutb is one of the most treasured gems of Islamic architecture. 'Ala-ud-din Khalaji also built the new city of Siri.

Muslim architecture entered a new phase with the coming of the House of Tughluq to the throne of Delhi. Its buildings are characterised by excellent proportions and simplicity. Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq built to the east of the Qutb the new city of Tughluqabad by the side of which stands the Sultan's mausoleum. Muhammad bin Tughluq inaugurated a number of building projects. He built the new city of Tughluqabad. Firuz Shah was the greatest builder among the rulers of Delhi before Shah Jahan. We have already described his innumerable public works including palaces, mosques, tombs, forts and cities. He also founded a new city called Firuzabad near Delhi. The palace-fort known as Kotlah Firuz Shah was constructed inside this city. Two structures inside the Kotlah that deserve mention are the *Jami'* mosque and a pyramidal structure surmounted by a pillar of Ashoka. Although Timur's invasion dealt a serious blow to the monuments of Delhi the Saiyids and Lodis also built quite a number of mosques and tombs.

Among the provincial styles the monuments of Jaunpur, Bengal, Malwa, Gujarat and Deccan occupy a prominent place in the history of Muslim architecture in the subcontinent. The buildings of the provincial dynasties bear testimony to the glory of Muslim architectural achievements. The mosques built by the Sharqi rulers at Jaunpur are massive and imposing. The city of Mandu

in Malwa with its palaces, pavilions and the great *Jami'* Masjid had about it an air of romance. The Bahmani Sultanate also built palaces, tombs and mosques. Later, Bidar and Gulbarga developed their own styles of architecture. The Deccan specially excelled in military architecture. The Sultanate of Gujarat constructed exquisite buildings with beautiful decorations and excellent perforated stone screens. The five well-known tombs of saints in Multan strike a new note in their architectural designs. In Bengal we have a large number of monuments constructed in the period. The Adinah Mosque was built by Sikandar Shah and this was "the most ambitious structure of its kind ever essayed in Eastern India". The Satgumbad mosque of Khan Jahan at Bagherhat is a famous monument actually covered by seventy-seven domes. The *Chhota Sona Masjid* is the most celebrated mosque of Muslim Bengal built during the reign of 'Ala-ud-din Husain Shah. The *Bara Sona Masjid* of Gaur was constructed by Nusrat Shah in 1526. In Bengal the difficulty of obtaining stone and absolute dependence on brick resulted in the evolution of distinct forms and designs. Among some of the characteristics of Bengali architecture mention may be made of a sloping semicircular structure as a roof, rich ornamentation in terra cotta and carved cornices.

The Muslims during the Sultanate period developed decorative arts like calligraphy and arabesque. Their floral and geometrical patterns enhanced the beauty of their buildings as well as illuminated their books. There is also evidence to show that mural paintings were widely in use for decorative purposes on the walls of palaces and buildings.

Economic conditions

The village during the Sultanate period remained, as in the ancient period a self contained unit of economic life. The cities flourished under the Sultans. The testimony of Ibn Battutah who visited the subcontinent in the first half of the fourteenth century and that of Barbosa early in the sixteenth century shows that there were rich sea-ports in Gujarat, Deccan and Bengal. There were also flourishing cities all over the subcontinent.

Agriculture throughout the whole period was in a prosperous

condition. All the foreign travellers who visited the subcontinent during the period speak highly of the fertility of the soil which made it possible for the cultivators to grow two crops every year. Among the agricultural products mention has been made of wheat, barley, millet, peas, and lentils. Among fruits mangoes, jack-fruits, black-berries, oranges, cocoanuts and bananas are mentioned. Malabar was noted for its spices, such as ginger and pepper. In Bengal the great traveller Ibn Battutah passed through villages and orchards which were similar to those along the banks of the Nile. Among the products of Bengal he mentions rice, millets, beans, ginger, mustard, onions, garlic, cucumber, egg-plant, cocoanut, betelnut, banana, jackfruit, pomegranate, sugarcane, and honey. There was also abundance of buffaloes, cows, sheep and domestic fowl.

The subcontinent was famous for various industries among which textiles, metal-work, sugar, indigo and paper were famous. The textile industry was the most flourishing among these. Varieties of fine cloth were produced. Gujarat, Cambay, Malabar and Calicut were famous for their silk and cotton textiles which were exported to the Red Sea ports and western Europe. Bengal was also famous for the volume and variety of fine textiles. Ma Huan, the Chinese traveller, mentions six varieties of fine cotton cloth besides silk brocades and head-coverings woven with gold. These textile goods of Bengal found a good market in Malacca in the east and Ormuz in the west. The subcontinent clothed the entire area around the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. Among other industries mention may be made of metal-work for which Gujarat and Cambay were famous. There were gold-smiths, jewellers and workers on stones, coral, cornelian etc. In Cambay ivory was used for in-lay work. The lavish use of jewellery by the people encouraged these industries. Industry was mostly on a cottage basis but rich merchants maintained large factories as well employing hundreds of artisans. Although industry was mainly organised on a private basis there were also a large number of *karkhanahs* or factories managed by the state to cater to the needs of the royal household. The royal factories at Delhi sometimes employed as many as four thousand weavers for silk alone. The example of the sultans of Delhi was followed by the rulers of the provincial kingdoms and

the contribution of the state to the development of industry was great indeed.

The subcontinent had a long tradition of inland and foreign trade which was further developed after thecoming of the Muslims. The trading classes were Multanis in the north and the banias of Gujarat. Foreign Muslim merchants loosely called the Khurasanis also played an important role in handling the trade. Between the traders and the producers there was an organised class of brokers. There were also money-lenders and bankers known as *mahajans* who lent out money on interest. The imports consisted mainly of articles of luxury for the upper classes and supply of horses and mules. The exports on the other hand included numerous articles and commodities such as food grains and cloth. Among agricultural products wheat, millet, rice, lentils, scents and medicinal herbs were exported in large quantities. From Bengal cotton and sugar were exported. Textiles both silk and cotton were important items of export. The area which depended most on supplies from the subcontinent included the islands in the Pacific Ocean, the Malayan islands and east coast of Africa. Beyond this area with which direct trade relations existed commodities from the subcontinent also reached European markets. The Arabs carried these articles to the Red Sea and thence to Damascus and Alexandria from where these were marketed in the Middle Eastern countries and Europe.

Travellers' accounts bear ample testimony to the general prosperity of the people in the subcontinent. They were happy and led a life of ease and comfort. Gujarat in particular enjoyed unusual prosperity. The cities of Champanir, Ahmadabad and Cambay were inhabited by wealthy merchants and craftsmen. In the cities people lived in stone and mortar houses and wore sumptuous and costly dresses. Throughout the subcontinent there were large cities, towns and flourishing villages. In the south Malabar enjoyed a high measure of prosperity. In the east, Orissa and Bengal rolled in prosperity. Commodities in Bengal were cheap.

Muslim Society

The most important class in the state next to the Sultan was the nobility consisting of the governors, heads of various

departments and provincial officers. The highest among the nobles bore the title of *khan*. Next in rank came the *maliks* and then *amirs*. These nobles and privileged classes among the Muslims led a life of luxury and comfort. They had enough wealth to live in high style. Rich merchants also lived like nobles and princes. They lived in palatial buildings with a large number of servants. They vied with one another and with the sultan in maintaining a luxurious standard of life. Their houses were furnished with divans, costly tapestries and valuable carpets, glass and china wares and gold and silver dishes and bowls. They kept horses of good breed in their stables. Elephants were highly prized. The provincial governors maintained their own courts. They patronized poets, men of letters and scholars. The palace of each noble was in fact a replica of the royal court. Next to the nobles there was still another class of people who also were prosperous and affluent. This class consisted of officials, merchants, teachers, physicians, poets and calligraphists. Artisans, especially those engaged in work of artistic merit, were mainly Muslims. Workmen lived in separate and well-marked quarters named after them, such as the weavers' market, the potters' and so on. In the Muslim majority areas there were many Muslims peasants.

The Muslims brought their customs and mores mostly from Central Asia, and it is surprising how many of these endured for centuries, almost upto the eve of Independence. Some of them persist even now. Very little was taken from the local population. The Muslim food in Pakistan and India even today is Central Asian with the only difference that *ghi* has replaced olive oil and butter as a cooking medium and the dishes have become more spicy. In some areas chillies and tamarind or dried green mangoes are used in excess. The names of the main Pakistani and Indian Muslim dishes even today are Central Asian.

Among the ceremonies the most important were those associated with *'aqiqah, bismillah,* circumcision, marriage and funeral. These were Muslim and Central Asian in form. Among the religious ceremonies pilgrimage to the shrines of saints particularly on the occasion of *'urs* or anniversaries was common. The two *'ids* were great occasions for widespread rejoicing. *Shab-i-barat* was observed by night vigil and display of fire-works. Besides these religious and

social festivals, the common people enjoyed witnessing royal cavalcades, coronations, and receptions when great rejoicing and merry-making took place.

Among the games and pastimes *chaugan* (polo), riding, racing, hunting and archery were popular among the Muslim nobility and the upper classes. Indoor games like chess and back gammon were common. There were a class of jesters and buffoons who entertained the noble and the rich.

Hindu Society: Hindu Society was rigid and decadent at the time of the Muslim conquest of the Gangetic plain. The caste system divided the people and created social injustice and inequality. The worst fate was that of the untouchables whose touch polluted food, clothes, articles of use and even the body, because the person touched had to take a bath after an untouchable had touched him. In the South even an untouchable's shadow polluted a man of a higher caste. Idolatry and superstition were common. Under the impact of Islam, some thinkers rebelled against the ideas commonly held by the people and tried to bring reforms in religious beliefs and the social order. Many sects approximating to Islam in varying degrees came into existence, the most important being Sikhism. Among others the Bhakti movement became popular which lay emphasis on the love of God.

The upper classes of the Hindus lived affluently. These consisted of tributary chiefs, officials, merchants and money lenders. The Kayasthas in particular were largely employed in government offices. Hindus soon began to learn Persian and some attained high proficiency. Some even adopted Muslim dress and Muslim customs.

Religion

In the foregoing pages we have narrated the achievements of the Muslims in founding an extensive empire in the subcontinent. The wars of conquests, the organisation of administrative institutions and the development of art and culture have been related. Muslim dynasties rose and fell but Islam as a unifying force sustained the Muslims throughout these centuries. In the preservation of Islam, its beliefs and tenets, firstly the '*ulama* and secondly the *sufis* played a dominant role. Whereas in the capital cities,

where the upper class of Muslim Society lived, the *'ulama* were the custodians of religion, in the most obscure places among the masses, the *sufis* worked most assiduously, generation after generation, not only to preserve the inner spirit of Islam among the Muslims but also to win thousands of converts from the down-trodden Hindu masses to whom even elementary human rights had been denied by their co-religionists. The spread of Islam in the subcontinent is the story of the untiring efforts of the numerous saints and *sufis* who dedicated their lives to the cause of the service of humanity. In winning converts these holy men were helped by two important factors. The evils of the caste system among the Hindus were at their worst on the eve of the Muslim conquest. This iniquitous system divided the Hindus into mutually exclusive classes of whom the Brahmins and the Kshatryas monopolised all privileges relegating the majority to an inferior position. In particular the Shudras and the Untouchables were deprived of all dignity and suffered from the most 'irritating disabilities'. To these suffering millions Islam brought a message of hope — a message of complete equality of men.

The *sufis*, because of their simple and unassuming way of life, their devotion to the love and worship of the Almighty God and their love for suffering humanity, were eminently fitted to fulfil this humanitarian and liberating mission of Islam. They were men of lofty character and started coming to the subcontinent in larger numbers in the wake of Muslim conquerors, although some of them came even before the military conquest. The heaviest concentration of Muslim population in East and West Pakistan was away from the metropolitan cities of Delhi, Agra and Lahore. This is positive proof of the fact that Islam was not spread through political power. It spread in these regions as a result of the peaceful missionary activities of the *sufis*. Sufism was a great spiritual movement in Islam which sought mystic realization of God.

In course of time the *sufis* organised themselves into *silsilahs* (orders) and established *khanqahs* (hospices). After the fall of Baghdad, when the Muslim political power was at its lowest ebb, the *sufis* took upon themselves the great task of revitalising Muslim society through an organised spiritual discipline. Among

the *sufi silsilahs* mention may be made of the Qadiriyahs, founded by Shaikh 'Abd-ul-Qadir Gilani (1077-1166). Although this *silsilah* was strong in West Asia it did not make much headway in the subcontinent during the Sultanate period. The Naqshbandiyah called after Khwajah Baha-ud-din Naqshband (d. 1388) was also late in reaching the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. Two other *sufi* orders, the Chishtiyah and the Suhrawardiyah, were chiefly responsible for the propagation of Islam among the masses. The Chishtiyah order founded by Khwajah Abu Ishaq Shami (d. 940) was brought to the subcontinent by Khwaja Mu'in-ud-din Ajmeri. The Suhrawardyah named after Shaikh Najib-ud-din 'Abd-ul-Qahir Suhrawardi (d. 1169) was popularised in the subcontinent by Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakariya of Multan. These two *silsilahs* came almost simultaneously with the foundation of the Sultanate of Delhi. Within a short period they established their *khanqahs* from Multan to Lakhnauti so that early in the fourteenth century the number of *khanqahs* in Delhi and its surroundings was nearly two thousand. These *khanqahs* were ordinarily situated in solitary places which provided ideal atmosphere for meditation as well as a refuge for visitors expecting to derive benefit from the company of these saints. The *khanqahs* were maintained either out of permanent endowments or charities from the local people. A brief account of the lives and teachings of some of the leading *sufis* is given below.

Born in Sijistan in 1141 Shaikh Mu'in-ud-din visited the seminaries of Samarqand and Bukhara to acquire religious learning. At Nishapur he met Khwajah 'Usman to whom he remained attached for twenty years. He travelled a good deal and then turned to the subcontinent. He halted for some time at Lahore where he visited the tomb of Shaikh 'Ali Hujweri (Data Ganj Bakhsh). He then came to Ajmer. He died in 1236 and lies buried at Ajmer. Two eminent disciples of Shaikh Mu'in-ud-din who popularised the Chishtiyah order were Shaikh Hamid-ud-din and Shaikh Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki. Shaikh Hamid-ud-din lived in a small village of Nagaur making a meagre living by cultivating a small plot of land. He refused all royal favours and preferred a life of penury and poverty. His simplicity and devotion made him a popular figure at Nagaur. Shaikh Qutb-

ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki distinguished himself as the *Khalifah* of Shaikh Mu'in-ud-din and came to settle at Delhi where Sultan Iltutmish accorded him a hearty welcome and requested him to stay near the palace. But the saint chose to live outside the city. Iltutmish always held him in high esteem although the saint did not like to associate himself with kings and courts. The Shaikh was overwhelmed by an ecstatic fit in the course of a seance as a result of which he breathed his last. Two of his *khalifas*, Shaikh Baha-ud-din Ghaznawi and Shaikh Farid-ud-din Ganj Shakar further popularised the Chishtiyah order. It was particularly because of the efforts of Shaikh Farid-ud-din of Pak Patan (Ajodhan) that the Chishtiyah *silsilah* came to have its branches in important cities of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent.

Born near Multan, Shaikh Farid Ganj Shakar met Shaikh Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki and became attached to him. "No saint has excelled Ganj Shakar in his devotion and penitence". After passing through the most rigorous spiritual discipline he first settled at Hansi and then moved to Ajodhan where all spiritually starved people turned to him from near and far. Seven of his disciples including the famous Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya carried on his work.

Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya (1238-1325) was appointed *khalifah* by Shaikh Farid whom he occasionally visited at Ajodhan. He lived and worked in Delhi for about half-a-century. Like all other sufis of his order, Shaikh Nizam-ud-din not only avoided all connections with the royal court but also disliked royal visits to his *khanqah*. It appears from a perusal of his life and activities that he was chiefly concerned with building up the character of the Muslim people and training up a band of *sufis* who were responsible for the propagation of Islam in Bengal, Deccan and Gujarat. In Delhi people from all walks of life became his disciples. His door was open to amirs and princes, rich and poor, learned and illiterate, warriors and peasants, free men and slaves. There were occasional assemblies in his *khanqah* or in various parts of the city where *qawwali* was sung and people were moved to tears and ecstasy. By the magic of the Shaikh's influence people became disciplined and honest. His *khanqah* supported a large number of *'ulama*, *huffaz*, students and *qawwals*.

Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakariya, founder of the Suhrawardiyah order in the subcontinent was born near Multan in 1182-3 and later travelled in many other Islamic lands. While at Baghdad he became a disciple of Shaikh Shihabud-din Suhrawardi. Coming back to Multan he established a Suhrawardi *khanqah* there and worked for more than half a century to teach *sufi* discipline. He died in Multan in 1262. His spiritual domain spread over Multan, Sind and Baluchistan. According to one of his biographers, Shaikh Baha-ud-din also stayed for sometime in the frontier region (Peshawar) in solitude and many Hindus including chiefs from Sind, Multan and Lahore accepted Islam at his hands and became his disciples. He believed in a normal and balanced life and did not approve of asceticism. Unlike the Chishti saints he did not insist on giving a wide berth to kings and their courts. He was also strict in following the external forms of religion. Possession of wealth according to him was no hindrance to the *sufi* way of life. It is said that when in 1257 the Mongols came to Multan and started carnage and slaughter, the Shaikh gave them one lakh *dirhams* and saved the city from complete destruction.

After the death of Shaikh Baha-ud-din his son, Sadr-ud-din 'Arif, succeeded him at Multan while his disciple Saiyid Jalal-ud-din Bukhari founded a strong Suhrawardi centre at Uchh. Shaikh Sadr-ud-din, however, differed from his father in his attitude to wealth which he considered to be a great impediment to the *sufi* path. He gave away in charity the vast sums of money that he had inherited from his father and preferred a life of penury to that of prosperity. Saiyid Jalal-ud-din Bukhari was responsible for the conversion of many tribes of Uchh to Islam.

To Bengal also came hundreds of *sufis* either directly from Western and Central Asia or from West Pakistan or Northern India. They also belonged to various orders particularly the Chishtiyah and Suhrawardiyah. Bengal, with its fine scenic beauty, fertile alluvial land and prosperous villages, provided an ideal atmosphere for the growth of *sufism*. *Khanqahs* and shrines grew up in every nook and corner of the province. Several new orders named after different *sufis* also arose in Bengal. Shaikh Jalal-ud-din Tabrizi, who settled near Pandua, founded the Jalali-

yah order. The 'Ala'i order in Bengal originated with the great saint Shaikh 'Ala-ul-Haq of Pandua. His illustrious son Nur Qutb Alam was the founder of the Nuri order.

Shaikh Jalal-ud-din Tabrizi was a disciple of Shaikh Shihab-ud-din Suhrawardi and came to the subcontinent along with Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakariya. He stayed at Delhi for sometime and then started for Bengal. On the way he halted at Bada'un where he blessed a boy who was the future Maulana 'Ala-ud-din Usuli, a teacher of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya. He arrived at Lakhnauti about the year 1213 and established his *khanqah* at a place called Deomahal near Pandua. People flocked to his *khanqah* and started becoming his disciples. A *langar* (free kitchen) was attached to his *khanqah.* He purchased some gardens and lands and dedicated them for the maintenance of the *langar.* Half of the revenue from the port of Deomahal situated on the site of a former Hindu temple went towards the maintenance of the *langar.* His tomb is situated near this Deomahal (also called Deotala). This Deotala was later named Tabrizabad which is situated on the road to Devkot. The Shaikh exercised a tremendous influence on his contemporaries, Muslims, Hindus and Buddhists alike. Many non-Muslims were converted to Islam at his hands. His *khanqah* was a spiritual centre for the *sufis* and a place of solace and comfort for the poor and the needy.

Shah Jalal Konya'i (from Konya in Turkey) was a great saint of Bengal. The conquest of Sylhet by Sikandar Khan Ghazi during the reign of Sultan Shams-ud-din Firuz Shah was achieved "by the grace of the Shaikh of Shaikhs, Jalal Mujarrad ("Bachelor") son of Muhammad". According to a tradition, Gaur Govinda, a Hindu ruler of Sylhet, oppressed a Muslim saint named Shaikh Burhan-ud-din as result of which Sultan Shams-ud-din Firuz Shah, the ruler of Bengal, sent his sister's son Sikandar Ghazi to conquer Sylhet but he failed thrice in his war against Gaur Govinda. The Sultan then sent his Sipahsalar Nasir-ud-din who was spiritually blessed near Tribeni by Shah Jalal and materially helped by 360 of his followers. This combined force succeeded in conquering Sylhet.

After the conquest of Sylhet, Shah Jalal settled there and it was as a result of his missionary activities that people of the area were

converted to Islam. Hindus and Muslims held him in high esteem. Enormous presents and gifts were brought to his *khanqah* and these were sufficient to feed the indigent, the needy and the travellers who visited it. It is now fairly well established that the great saint whom Ibn Battutah met in Sylhet was Shah Jalal Konya'i. The Moorish traveller gives us a graphic picture of the Shaikh's life of austerity and devotion. He was very old when Ibn Battutah met him. For about forty years he had been keeping fast breaking it only at an interval of ten days with cow's milk. Throughout the night he kept on standing in devotional prayers. Shah Jalal died in 1347 at the age 150. His *dargah* at Sylhet is a famous place of pilgrimage for all sections of people.

Born in Bukhara, Shaikh Sharaf-ud-din Abu Tawwamah came to Delhi during the reign of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Balban. He then went to Sonargaon. On the way at Maner (Bihar) he met Shaikh Sharaf-ud-din Yahya who became his pupil and accompanied him to Sonargaon. Shaikh Sharaf-ud-din Abu Tawwamah settled down in Sonargaon and devoted himself to preaching and teaching. He established a *khanqah* and an academy and started imparting spiritual knowledge and religious learning. He was both a scholar and a saint. He died at Sonargaon in 1300 and was buried there. His disciple, Shaikh Sharaf-ud-din Yahya Maneri, who accompanied him from Maner to Sonargaon proved to be a diligent and devoted student. For more than fifteen years he was given religious education and spiritual training by Shaikh Sharaf-ud-din Abu Tawwamah, whose daughter he married. After completion of his training he returned to Maner and himself started teaching and preaching. Both the master and the pupil were scholars as well as saints and wrote several books on *tasawwuf* and religious sciences.

A native of Lakhnauti, Shaikh Akhi Siraj belonged to the Chishtiyah order and received the blessings of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya at Delhi. He established a *khanqah* at Lakhnauti which was frequented by kings, princes and commoners. He started a free kitchen where food was served to the poor, the needy and the distressed. He died in 1357 and lies buried at Gaur. His disciple Shaikh 'Ala-ul-Haq came of a very influential and wealthy family of Lakhnauti. He was a man of great learning. Like his master he

maintained a *khanqah* and a *langar* at Pandua. Owing to differences with the political authorities over the appointment of non-Muslims to high government posts he had to leave Pandua and settle at Sonargaon. Even in his place of exile his *khanqah* became the favourite spiritual resort of the people. After the death of Sikandar Shah he returned to Pandua again. He turned Pandua into a great centre of Islamic learning and *sufi* discipline. He died in 1398.

Nur Qutb Alam was a worthy son and successor of Shaikh 'Ala-ul-Haq. He was a fellow-student of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din 'Azam Shah. In his boyhood he looked to the interests of *faqirs* and mendicants assembled in the *khanqah* of his father and acquired knowledge of religious sciences and spiritual practices from his father. Pandua in his time became a great spiritual centre to which eminent persons from all over the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent gathered together to receive his spiritual blessings. He maintained a college, a hospital and a *langar*. Sultan Husain Shah made land grants to this college and hospital. Nur Qutb 'Alam was in favour of paying due respect to the rulers of the time and the rulers also greatly revered him. He saved the Muslim state and society from a great calamity. Shaikh 'Ala-ul-Haq's misgivings regarding the infiltration of Hindus into position of power and influences proved true. Taking advantage of the generous policy of the Ilyas Shahi Sultans and dissensions among Muslims, Raja Ganesha a Hindu noble usurped all powers and started persecuting the Muslims, particularly the Shaikhs and '*Ulama*. Nur Qutb wrote a letter to Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi imploring his assistance in removing the iniquitous rule of Raja Ganesha. When the forces of the Sharqi Sultan approached the border of Bengal Raja Ganesha submitted to Qutb 'Alam. The raja abdicated in favour of his son Jadu who embraced Islam at the hands of the saint and ascended the throne as Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Shah. Then at the intercession of Qutb 'Alam, Ibrahim Shah withdrew his army. However, Ganesha did not keep his word. He deposed his son and forcibly converted him to Hinduism. After Ganesha's death Muhammad Shah again became a good and sincere Muslim. Nur Qutb 'Alam lies buried at Pandua near his father's tomb. His *dargah* is a great place

of pilgrimage. Husain Shah was an admirer of this saint and came on foot every year from Ekdala to Pandua to pay respects to his memory.

A popular saint of legendary fame, Pir Badr, known all over Bengal is particularly associated with Chittagong. The boatmen of East Pakistan invoke his blessing in their journey through rough and turbulent waters. All attempts at identifying him historically have failed but his popularity and influence are witness to his importance.

In Bengal we also come across some saints who were fighters in the cause of Islam and later came to be revered by people of their localities as saints. Some of these warrior-saints were Zafar Khan Ghazi of Tribeni (Hugli) who became a martyr (*Shahid*) in a fight with a local Hindu King, Khan Jahan ʻAli of Bagherhat (Khulna), who expanded Muslim rule in that region, Shah Ismaʻil Ghazi who served under Sultan Rukn-ud-din Barbek Shah (1459-74) and fought successful wars against the Hindu kings of Orissa and Kamrup.

Muslim Achievement

The achievement of the Muslims during the Sultanate period is almost incomparable in History. A small minority which could not have numbered even one to a thousand of the population conquered a vast area in a remarkably short time. Within nine years all the kingdoms from Delhi to Bengal had been conquered. This in itself was a colossal task. Then with the invasions of the Mongols the young Sultanate was confronted with an enemy who had destroyed older empires from Central Asia to the borders of Egypt and Crimea. It was able to defend its frontiers, to give shelter to refugees from Mongol barbarities and to expand its territories. By the first decade of the fourteenth century the entire subcontinent had been conquered. This achievement is also unique in the history of the world. And this was achieved by a people who were confronted with the task of ruling a people who were civilized, armed and saturated with a dislike of foreigners.

As if this were not enough, they built up a system of just and efficient administration whose basic structure endured for several

centuries and whose influence can be seen even today in several administrative institutions of India and Pakistan. They built great buildings, some of which excite our admiration even today. They produced great literary figures like Khusraw and Hasan Sijzi, scholars, historians and jurists, logicians, physicians and others who raised the intellectual standard of the Sultanate to an extent that it began to vie with and even surpass older centres of Muslim learning and culture. They trained artisans to create articles and textiles of great artistic value. The people prospered under their fostering care and the subcontinent built up a reputation of affluence which passed into story and poetry of many Asian and European countries.

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APPENDIX

CHRONOLOGY OF THE SULTANS

		DATES OF ACCESSION	
	1. QUṬBĪS	*Hijrī era*	*Christian era*
1.	Qutb-u'd-dīn Aibak	602	1206
2.	Aram Shāh	607	1210
3.	Shams-u'd-dīn Iltumish	607	1210
4.	Rukn-u'd-dīn Firūz	633	1235
5.	Jalālat-u'd-dīn Radiyah	634	1236
6.	Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Bahrām	637	1240
7.	'Alā-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd	639	1242
8.	Nāsir-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd	644	1246
9.	Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban	664	1266
10.	Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Kaiqubād	686	1287
11.	Shams-u'd-dīn Kaiyūmarth	689	1290
	2. KHALAJIS		
12.	Jalāl-u'd-dīn Fīrūz	689	1290
13.	Rukn-u'd-dīn Ibrāhīm	695	1296
14.	'Alā-u'd-dīn Muḥammad	695	1296
15.	Shihāb-u'd-dīn 'Umar	715	1316
16.	Qutb-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shah	716	1316
	Shams-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd [Pretender]	718	1318
17.	Nāsir-u'd-dīn Khusraw	720	1320
	3. HOUSE OF TUGHLUQ		
18.	Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Tughluq I	720	1320
19.	Muḥammad bin Tughluq	725	1325
20.	Fīrūz Shāh	752	1351
21.	Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Tughluq II	790	1388
22.	Fīrūz Shāh Ẓafar	791	1389
23.	Abū Bakr	791	1389
24.	Muḥammad bin Fīrūz	792	1390
25.	Sikandar	795	1393

		Hijrī era	*Christian era*
26.	Maḥmūd bin Muḥammad	795	1393
27.	Nuṣrat [Interregnum]	797-802?	1395
28.	Daulat Khān Lodī	815	1413
	4. SAYYIDS		
29.	Khiḍr Khān	817	1414
30.	Mubārak Shāh	824	1421
31.	Muḥammad bin Farīd	837	1443
32.	'Ālam Shāh	849	1445
	5. LODĪS		
33.	Buhlūl	855	1451
34.	Sikandar	894	1489
35.	Ibrāhīm	923	1517
	[Mughul Emperors]		
	Ẓahīr-u'd-dīn Muḥammad Bābur ...	932	1526
	Naṣir-u'd-dīn Humāyūn	937	1530
	6. SURS		
36.	Sher Shāh	945	1538
37.	Islam Shāh	952	1545
38.	Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh	960	1552
39.	Ibrāhīm Shāh	962	1554
40.	Sikandar Shāh	962	1554
	Nāsir-u'd-dīn Humāyun [restored]	962	1555

[Based on *N. Wright*]

(Reproduced from I. H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Dehli.*)

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